

3789. Also, petition of certain citizens, Communists, Democrats, and Republicans, favoring repeal of present Neutrality Act, placing an embargo on arms to Germany and Japan, and adoption of so-called Thomas amendment; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3790. By Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of the Southern Pine Sales Corporation, New York City, opposing the passage of Senate bill 2009; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

3791. Also, petition of the Green Mountain Club, Inc., New York section, Brooklyn, N. Y., urging defeat of House bill 3794, the amended bill, and urging the passage in its original form; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

3792. Also, petition of the United Wholesale and Warehouse Employees of New York, urging support of the Mead bill (S. 3243); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

3793. Also, petition of the New York Association of Biology Teachers, Brooklyn, N. Y., opposing the amendment to House bill 3794 and favoring the original Gearhart bill for John Muir-Kings Canyon National Park; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

3794. Also, petition of the Merchants Association of New York, concerning certain provisions in the pending agricultural appropriation bill; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3795. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Women's Economic Federation and the Unemployed Women's Council, Douglas County, Nebr., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to Works Progress Administration funds and House bill 6470; to the Committee on Appropriations.

SENATE

THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1939

The Chaplain, Rev. ZeBarney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou who hast set the world in our hearts, who renewest the face of the earth with Thy breath and revivest for us the grace and beauty that had fled: Help us to realize that this is the day which the Lord hath made, therefore we will rejoice and be glad in it. Give us, through greater wealth and fineness of heart, a richer and a finer world; make our lives so inwardly melodious that we may hear the melody from the echoing hills toward which we lift our eyes.

Forgive us when we see the King's highway of truth and fail to walk therein, or, hearing our Shepherd's voice, we fail to follow it, but loiter in low places with the flesh, too feeble and too timid to be faithful and courageous for our tasks. Then in Thy great mercy empower us with the sense of Thy presence, that we, too, like Thine ancient lawgiver, may endure as seeing Him who is invisible. We ask it in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, June 13, 1939, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the 13th instant, the following message from the House of Representatives was received by the Secretary on June 14, 1939:

That the House insisted upon its amendment to the bill (S. 1886) to extend to June 16, 1942, the period within which certain loans to executive officers of member banks of the Federal Reserve System may be renewed or extended, agreed to the conference asked for by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. STEAGALL, Mr. WILLIAMS of Missouri, Mr. SPENCE, Mr. WOLCOTT, and Mr. GIFFORD were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one

of his secretaries, who also announced that the President had approved and signed the following acts and joint resolution:

On June 5, 1939:

S. 2314. An act to establish the position of Under Secretary in the Department of Commerce.

On June 7, 1939:

S. 572. An act to provide for the common defense by acquiring stocks of strategic and critical materials essential to the needs of industry for the manufacture of supplies for the armed forces and the civilian population in time of a national emergency, and to encourage, as far as possible, the further development of strategic and critical materials within the United States for common defense; and

S. J. Res. 138. Joint resolution providing that reorganization plans Nos. I and II shall take effect on July 1, 1939.

On June 8, 1939:

S. 588. An act to provide for an additional midshipman at the United States Naval Academy, and for other purposes.

On June 10, 1939:

S. 499. An act to amend the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1909, as amended, so as to extend commissary privileges to civilian officers and employees of the United States at naval stations beyond the continental limits of the United States or in Alaska.

On June 13, 1939:

S. 189. An act to provide for the confiscation of firearms in possession of persons convicted of felony and disposition thereof;

S. 509. An act to add certain lands of the Front Royal Quartermaster Depot Military Reservation, Va., to the Shenandoah National Park, and for other purposes;

S. 1243. An act to authorize the use of War Department equipment for the Confederate Veterans' 1939 Reunion at Trinidad, Colo., August 22, 23, 24, and 25, 1939;

S. 1409. An act to authorize the conveyance by the United States to the town of Bristol, Maine, of a portion of the Pemaquid Point Lighthouse Reservation, and for other purposes;

S. 1879. An act to amend the United States mining laws applicable to the area known as the watershed of the headwaters of the Bonito River in the Lincoln National Forest within the State of New Mexico;

S. 1982. An act to convey certain property to the city of El Campo, Tex.;

S. 2149. An act to add certain lands to the Papago Indian Reservation in Arizona; and

S. 2404. An act to authorize the disposal of the Portland, Oreg., old courthouse building.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calloway, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 1796) to amend the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1886) to extend to June 16, 1942, the period within which certain loans to executive officers of member banks of the Federal Reserve System may be renewed or extended.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 20), as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring). That the expenses incurred by the joint committee appointed pursuant to Senate Concurrent Resolution 17, Seventy-sixth Congress, to arrange for the reception of Their Majesties the King and Queen of Great Britain in the rotunda of the Capitol on June 9, 1939, shall be paid one-half from the contingent fund of the Senate and one-half from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the joint committee.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the Vice President:

S. 2154. An act to modify the provisions of section 14 of the act of June 30, 1834, and section 10 of the act of June 22, 1874, relating to the Indians; and

H. R. 4218. An act making appropriations for the legislative branch of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, and for other purposes.

LOANS TO BANK OFFICERS BY MEMBER BANKS—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. GLASS. I submit the conference report on Senate bill 1886. I may state briefly that the conferees on the part of the Senate agreed to the amendment proposed by the House.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The report will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the report, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1886) to extend to June 16, 1942, the period within which certain loans to executive officers of member banks of the Federal Reserve System may be renewed or extended, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House and agree to the same.

CARTER GLASS,
JAMES F. BYRNES,
JNO. G. TOWNSEND, Jr.

Managers on the part of the Senate.

HENRY B. STEAGALL,
CLYDE WILLIAMS,
BRENT SPENCE,
JESSE P. WOLCOTT,
CHARLES L. GIFFORD,

Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. GLASS. I may state that the House has adopted the conference report.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

POSTPONEMENT OF OPERATION OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF FOOD, DRUG, AND COSMETIC ACT—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the conference report on House bill 5762, which was submitted to the Senate on Tuesday last.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The conference report has heretofore been read. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Missouri that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the report.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the report of the committee on conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5762) to provide for temporary postponement of the operations of certain provisions of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

The report is as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5762) to provide for temporary postponement of the operations of certain provisions of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 1: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 1 and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of subdivision (b) of the engrossed bill (beginning on line 9 of page 1, and extending down to and including line 16 on page 2) and the Senate amendment numbered 1, insert the following:

"(b) The Secretary of Agriculture shall promulgate regulations further postponing to July 1, 1940, the effective date of the provisions of sections 403 (e) (1); 403 (g), (h), (i), (j), and (k); 502 (b), (d), (e), (f), (g), and (h); and 602 (b) of such act with respect to lithographed labeling which was manufactured prior to February 1, 1939, and to containers bearing labeling which, prior to February 1, 1939, was lithographed, etched, stamped, pressed, printed, fused, or blown on or in such containers, where compliance with such provisions would be unduly burdensome by reason of causing the loss of valuable stocks of such labeling or con-

tainers, and where such postponement would not prevent the public interest being adequately served: *Provided*, That in no case shall such regulations apply to labeling which would not have complied with the requirements of the Food and Drug Act of June 30, 1906, as amended."

And the Senate agree to the same.

BENNETT CHAMP CLARK,
CLAUDE PEPPER,
CHAS. L. McNARY,

Managers on the part of the Senate.

CLARENCE F. LEA,
VIRGIL CHAPMAN,
CARL E. MAPES,

Managers on the part of the House.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the report.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator state the result of the conference?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I will state to the Senator from Michigan that the measure originally passed by the House provided for a flat extension of 6 months of certain labeling and bottling provisions of the act. That extension was brought about by the fact that it was discovered that, due to necessary delay on the part of the Department in prescribing regulations having to do with the matter, it was impossible for many manufacturers of both food and drug products covered by the act to comply with its labeling provisions, and, in addition to that, many manufacturers had on hand large numbers of labels and bottles which it would be a great hardship for them to have to replace within the period prior to the effective date of the act, which is the 26th of June.

The Senate passed the bill but with an amendment providing that any manufacturer covered by the act might, upon his own motion and the filing of an affidavit setting forth proper cause, have an additional 6 months' extension. That matter has been in conference now for some time, and the agreement arrived at embodies the House provision, which is a modification of the Senate amendment, directing the Secretary of Agriculture to prescribe rules and regulations as to what cause must be shown, not contrary to the public interest, for which an additional extension of 6 months may be granted.

Mr. VANDENBERG. We now confront the situation that there is a positive 6 months' extension and a tentative 6 months' additional extension under certain regulations?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, I should like to ask a question of the Senator from Missouri. Looking at the conference report on House bill 5742, I understand that an extension has been allowed on labels, and so forth, but that the wording of the bill is that lithograph labels shall be given an extension. By that wording other labels not made through the lithograph process might not be given the extension. Will the Senator enlighten me on that point?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I do not so understand the provisions of the bill. In any event, it applies only to labels already on hand.

Mr. GURNEY. Does it apply to all labels on hand?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. That would be my understanding of it. I got a telegram, just as the Senator did, from those taking the view the Senator has indicated. They had every opportunity to appear before the conference or the committees of the House and the Senate, if they desired to do so, but they did not do so. On yesterday afternoon, after the conference report had been presented, some telegrams were sent asserting the view indicated by the Senator. I certainly would not so construe the law, and I do not believe anybody else could properly so construe it.

Mr. GURNEY. The Senator does not feel that any particular printers are given preference under the bill?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. That was certainly not the intention of either the committee of the Senate or of the conferees, and I certainly do not believe that is the effect of the language.

The Senator will note the language of the amendment adopted in the conference, as follows, in the authority for the extension:

And to containers bearing labeling which, prior to February 1, 1939, was lithographed, etched, stamped, pressed, printed, fused, or blown on or in such containers—

And so forth.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OF TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY ACT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1796) to amend the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933.

Mr. NORRIS. I move that the Senate disagree to the House amendment, request a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. SMITH, Mr. WHEELER, Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma, Mr. NORRIS, and Mr. McNARY conferees on the part of the Senate.

AMENDMENT OF THE COPYRIGHT ACT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend section 33 of the act entitled "An act to amend and consolidate the acts respecting copyright," approved March 4, 1909, and for other purposes, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Patents.

NEW BUILDINGS FOR NAVY DEPARTMENT IN THE DISTRICT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the construction of new buildings for the Navy Department in the District of Columbia, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

WITHDRAWAL OF PUBLIC LANDS FOR PROTECTION OF WATERSHEDS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to withdraw public-domain lands for the protection of watersheds, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

EXPENSES INCURRED BY VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION BENEFICIARIES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for allowance of expenses incurred by Veterans' Administration beneficiaries and their attendants in authorized travel for examination and treatment, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Finance.

REPORT ON TELEPHONE INVESTIGATION (H. DOC. NO. 340)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of the Commission on its investigation of the telephone industry in the United States unanimously adopted by the Commission, which, with the accompanying report (in two volumes), was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by Workers Alliance Local, No. 483, of San Francisco, Calif., protesting against the enactment of legislation depriving noncitizens of the right to work on Works Progress Administration projects, to deport certain noncitizens to concentration camps, etc., which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by Workers Alliance Local, No. 483, of San Francisco, Calif., favoring a deficiency appropriation for the Works Progress

Administration of \$50,000,000 for the remainder of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and a sufficient appropriation to provide an average of 3,000,000 public-works jobs for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1939, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Catholic Women's Union, representing 31 affiliated societies in New Jersey, favoring the enactment of neutrality legislation containing a prohibition against propaganda by aliens in the United States, barring secret diplomatic understandings by American officials, loans and financial agreements with foreign governments and private financial institutions, and forbidding the selling of arms, munitions, and military equipment to foreign nations, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate the memorial of the California Mountaineers, of Visalia, Calif., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to create the Kings Canyon Park in California, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram in the nature of a petition from the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, in session at Beaver Falls, Pa., signed by A. A. Wylie, clerk, praying for the enactment of pending legislation to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by radio, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also laid before the Senate the memorial of Milton James Ferguson, president of the American Library Association, Chicago, Ill., remonstrating against the confirmation of the nomination of Archibald MacLeish, of Connecticut, to be Librarian of Congress, which was referred to the Committee on the Library.

Mr. REED presented telegrams and letters in the nature of memorials from J. B. Houston, of Wichita; Anne M. Keech, of Florence; (Mrs. Thor) Margaret Case Jager, president of the board of the Wichita City Library; Hattie Osborne, librarian, and Christine L. Reb, assistant librarian, Baker University, of Baldwin; the Topeka Public Library Board; Anna Jane Michener (Mrs. John M. Michener), of Wichita; Miss Nadine Hunt, acting librarian, Pratt Public Library, of Pratt; the American Library Association, by Milton James Ferguson, president, American Library Association, librarian of the Brooklyn Public Library, New York; Louis H. Grieb, member of the board of trustees of the Wichita City Library; and D. H. Stafford, of the State Exchange Bank, of Mankato, all in the State of Kansas, remonstrating against the confirmation of the nomination of Archibald MacLeish, of Connecticut, to be Librarian of Congress, which were referred to the Committee on the Library.

RESOLUTIONS OF WISCONSIN BANKERS ASSOCIATION

Mr. WILEY presented resolutions adopted by the Wisconsin Bankers Association, which were referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved, That we express our appreciation to those United States Senators and Members of the House of Representatives who have sponsored and supported wholesome banking and business legislation and have consistently opposed unsound measures which are detrimental to business recovery; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Wisconsin Bankers Association be instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to all the Members of Congress from this State.

LEGISLATIVE

In view of the possibility that consolidation of the office of the Comptroller of the Currency with some other Federal examining agency would disturb our present dual system of banking, be it

Resolved, That the Wisconsin Bankers Association go on record as favoring postponement of consolidation of the Comptroller's office with any other Federal examining agency pending further consideration and study of the probable effects that would follow such consolidation; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the United States Senators and Members of the House of Representatives from this State.

Resolved, That the Wisconsin Bankers Association go on record as favoring the repeal of that part of the Federal Banking Act of 1935 requiring all State banks, with a million dollars or more of average deposits during the calendar year 1941, or any succeeding

calendar year, to become a member of the Federal Reserve System or lose their insurance in the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

That a copy of this resolution be furnished the United States Senators and Members of the House of Representatives from this State, and that they be urged to work for the repeal of this section of the Banking Act of 1935.

INVOLVEMENT IN FOREIGN WAR

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, I have received petitions signed by 137 citizens of Pomeroy, Wash., urging Congress not to take any action which would aline this country on one side or the other in any overseas conflict.

Two forms of statement are used in the petitions. Some have signed one and some another. I ask that both forms be printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks, because they so well state the opinion of our citizenry, that they will fight to defend this country but do not want to fight for any foreign country or combination of foreign countries. I ask that the petitions be appropriately referred.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the petitions will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and printed in the RECORD.

The petitions are as follows:

PETITION NO. 1

We, the undersigned, representative of this community, peace-loving and loyal patriots of the United States, wish hereby to express our strongest disapproval of any foreign policy which may involve us in foreign war. We are diametrically opposed to any attitude being taken by our Government of definite alinement and intermingling in European difficulties which might lead to our being involved in or drawn into foreign wars.

We are perfectly willing at all times to defend and protect our country against any invasion upon our own soil. Although we as individual citizens may not approve of the actions of certain European nations, nevertheless we are opposed to our Government going too far in expressions of disapproval which might lead us into foreign entanglements.

We feel it unjust to sacrifice the lives of our youth on the altar of foreign disputes and request that a definite effort be made to avoid in every way possible foreign war.

PETITION NO. 2

We, the undersigned American citizens, being mindful of our disastrous experience in the World War in Europe in 1917-18, which we entered with the hope of ending all wars and making the world safe for democracy, believe that the stand taken by our Government in the present European crisis is dangerous, and if pursued will in all probability involve us in another foreign war, which might cost us the lives of millions of our youth, untold billions of dollars, great destruction of property, and place an unbearable tax burden on our posterity, and/or on account of our present great national debt probably endanger, if not destroy, our democratic form of government.

We therefore hereby register our most sincere and emphatic disapproval of our Government's present stand and humbly petition our representatives in Congress to do everything in their power to cause our Government to immediately discontinue its present policy and adopt instead a definite policy of unqualified neutrality that will safeguard us against the necessity of fighting another war on European or other foreign soil.

Mr. BONE. I present and ask to have printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks a letter from J. A. Butler, merchant, and Pat McCabe, an attorney.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POMEROY, WASH., April 24, 1939.

HON. HOMER T. BONE,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Enclosed you will find petitions bearing 187 names, which are self-explanatory.

Among these signers are local citizens of the highest standing, including the mayor of Pomeroy, several members of the city council, most of our county officials, one representative of our State legislative district, doctors, lawyers, merchants, and businessmen, as well as representative farmers, laborers, etc.

In fact, these petitions have been signed voluntarily, without solicitation, almost 100 percent by those who have come in contact with them. We believe therefore that these petitions represent the almost solid sentiment of the citizens of this community.

Yours very truly,

J. A. BUTLER, Merchant,
PAT MCCABE, County Attorney,
Committeemen.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, I have also a petition from citizens of Spokane, Wash., calling upon Congress and the President to adopt and apply policies designed to keep America out of war, supported by a national-defense program adequate to preserve and protect our country and its people.

This petition was circulated by the Veterans of Foreign Wars. I ask that it be referred to the appropriate committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the petition will be received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

CONTINUATION OF INVESTIGATION BY CIVIL LIBERTIES SUBCOMMITTEE

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, I have in my hand a letter addressed to my colleague the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BYRNES], chairman of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. The letter is written by Miss Florence Palmer, secretary-treasurer of the United Cannery, Packing, and Food Preservers' Local Union, of Seattle, Wash. It asks that funds be provided in order that the so-called La Follette Civil Liberties Committee may continue its investigation.

I ask that the letter may be printed in the RECORD at this point as part of my remarks and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The letter is as follows:

UNITED CANNERY, PACKING, AND FOOD PRESERVERS' LOCAL, 7-2,
Seattle, Wash., May 20, 1939.

Senator JAMES F. BYRNES,
Chairman, Committee to Audit and Control,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At the last regular meeting of our union, our entire membership went on record unanimously endorsing Senate Resolution No. 126, which asks for funds to continue the La Follette committee.

We urgently request that this resolution be reported favorably to the floor of the Senate.

Yours very truly,

UNITED CANNERY, PACKING, AND FOOD PRESERVERS' LOCAL, 7-2,
FLORENCE PALMER, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMERICAN PRESIDENT LINES BANQUETS

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, in the discussion recently between the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] and myself on the subject of the transportation bill a question was raised concerning certain banquets which had been given by the former Dollar Line, now the American President Lines. In the discussion it appeared that the Maritime Commission might be in some way responsible. At the time I undertook to exculpate the Maritime Commission, but, in view of the controversy, I stated that I would write to the Chairman of the Commission and ascertain the facts. I have a letter from him, and I am sending it to the desk, and will be very glad to have it read to the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read as requested.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

UNITED STATES MARITIME COMMISSION,
Washington, June 13, 1939.

HON. JOSIAH W. BAILEY,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I have your letter of May 26, 1939, requesting a statement as to the relations of the Maritime Commission with the Dollar Line and the American President Lines in the light of Senator WHEELER's statements on the floor of the Senate on Thursday, May 25, 1939.

Senator WHEELER stated, in effect, that the American President Lines, operated by the Maritime Commission, had, to the knowledge of the Commission and with moneys furnished by it, given a \$10-a-plate dinner in San Francisco, and others in various parts of the country, and that "the excuse for holding the banquet was to get business." In the course of his remarks Senator WHEELER stated that the Commission operates the Dollar Line ships, and that it set up the corporation which took over the Dollar Line, and that the steamship company was being operated and directed by the Maritime Commission.

You are correct in your statement that the Maritime Commission does not own or operate the Dollar Line (now the American President Lines). The Commission did not set up the American President Lines, Ltd., or any other corporation. The American President Lines, Ltd., was organized in 1929 under the laws of Delaware as Dollar Steamship Lines, Inc., Ltd., and its name was changed to American President Lines, Ltd., in the 1938 reorganization when the Dollar interests withdrew. The United States, through the Maritime Commission, is a stockholder in the corporation by virtue of the acquisition in October 1938, without cost to the United States, and pursuant to the reorganization of the company, of 63,983 shares of class A stock, of a total of 252,000 shares outstanding, and 2,100,000 shares of class B stock, being all of said class outstanding. The stock held by the Commission rep-

resents a voting control of approximately 93 percent, and a common-stock equity of approximately 72 percent, junior to outstanding preferred stock of a par value of \$3,418,900, which is held by 100 or more stockholders. In addition to said stock, the Commission loaned the corporation \$2,000,000 for repairs, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation loaned it \$2,500,000 for working capital. The corporation made due application for and was granted an operating differential subsidy which is now governed by the terms and conditions of an operating differential subsidy agreement dated October 6, 1938.

The operation of the line is in the hands of the directors and officers of the corporation, and the Commission takes no part whatsoever in the active management thereof. This is based upon our conviction that, so long as the management of the corporation is securing the favorable results which the present management is securing, it would be highly unwise for the stockholders to interfere, and is in accordance with the applicable law.

The question of advertising and other sales promotion, as is the case with other management problems, is a matter exclusively in province of those charged by law with the responsibility for the active management of the line, and it is they who determine the policies of the corporation with regard thereto, subject always, of course, to ultimate accountability to stockholders for results. The Commission feels that the responsibility for the bankruptcies rests upon the board of directors and managing officers of the corporation. Based on the results thus far, the Commission feels that the course taken by them is a proper one. I should add in this connection, however, that it is a common practice of successful business enterprises to use this means of sales promotion as a most remunerative form of advertisement; and the Commission feels that there is no more reason to criticize, in the absence of facts justifying the criticism, the expenditure of \$20 or \$20,000 on this form of advertising than there would be to criticize a similar expenditure for newspaper or other forms of advertising. Granted the necessity for advertisement—and I believe no one questions such necessity—the form the advertising takes must be judged by the results; and the fact that the average gross receipts for April and May of this year (approximately \$1,130,000) were two and two-thirds times the gross revenues for October 1938 (the month before the present management took office) confirms the views of the Commission that the policies of the present management are sound.

The cost of the dinners in question (as is the case with other advertising expenses) is paid from the corporate funds of the corporation, and it was not paid out of any funds advanced by the Maritime Commission. The \$2,000,000 which, as stated above, was loaned to the corporation was applied to the cost of repairs to the vessels, and in order to insure such application was deposited in a special account, subject to withdrawal only with the countersignature of a representative of the Commission. No part of the subsidy moneys was used for such purpose, since the subsidizable expenses are strictly limited by the subsidy agreement and do not include advertising expenses of any sort.

The Commission is informed that five traffic promotion dinners were given by the line, at San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, Boston, and Chicago, and at an aggregate cost of \$22,263.13, or approximately \$5 per plate; and the determination to give the last four was based entirely upon the unusually favorable results of the one at San Francisco. In the opinion of the Commission the expenditures have been more than justified by the results as attested to both by reports in the Commission's files and comments in the press; and the \$22,263.13 so spent is not considered excessive in the case of a company with a gross income of upward of \$1,000,000 a month.

I trust that this letter contains the information which you seek. If you wish any further information in connection with the Commission's dealings with the American President Lines, Ltd., or otherwise, I shall be very glad to furnish it to you in detail. I may say that, prior to the debate which occasioned your inquiry, a comprehensive report of the Commission's dealings with the American President Lines, Ltd., was prepared for printing and transmission to Congress. It is expected that printing and binding will be completed within a few days, when it will be promptly sent to both the Senate and the House.

Sincerely yours,

E. S. LAND, *Chairman.*

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the 13th instant,
On June 14, 1939:

Mr. SHEPPARD, from the Committee on Military Affairs, submitted a supplemental report to accompany the bill (S. 457) to amend the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, heretofore reported by him from that committee without amendment, which was ordered to be printed as part 2 of Report No. 531.

Mr. JOHNSON of California, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 4674) to provide for the establishment of a Coast Guard station at or near the city of Monterey, Calif., reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 595) thereon.

Mr. BAILEY, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 6076) to provide for the registry

of pursers and surgeons as staff officers on vessels of the United States, and for other purposes, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 596) thereon.

Mr. KING, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to which was referred the bill (S. 2350) to amend the act of Congress approved May 3, 1935, entitled "An act to promote safety on the public highways of the District of Columbia by providing for the financial responsibility of owners and operators of motor vehicles for damages caused by motor vehicles on the public highways in the District of Columbia; to prescribe penalties for the violation of the provisions of this act; and for other purposes," reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 597) thereon.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. BARBOUR, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 1398) to amend the act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917, as amended, to increase the penalties for peacetime violations of such act, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 598) thereon.

Mr. SHEPPARD, from the Committee on Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 1740) to promote business and economic research in the United States by establishing and maintaining, in connection with State university schools of business administration, research stations to cooperate with the Department of Commerce, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 599) thereon.

Mr. BILBO, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, to which was referred the bill (S. 2212) to provide for the development of marketing and marketing services for farm commodities, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 601) thereon.

Mr. HUGHES, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 2399) for the relief of certain former employees of the Farm Security Administration, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 602) thereon.

Mr. ELLENDER, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 2176) for the relief of the Delaware Dredging Co., reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 603) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each with amendments and submitted reports thereon:

S. 1442. A bill for the relief of Max J. Mobley (Rept. No. 604); and

S. 2018. A bill for the relief of Nile Shaw and Edgar C. Bardin (Rept. No. 605).

Mr. TYDINGS, from the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 161) to amend section 73 of the Hawaiian Organic Act, approved April 30, 1900, as amended, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 606) thereon.

Mr. PITTMAN, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred the bill (S. 2197) authorizing Federal participation in the commemoration and observance of the four hundredth anniversary of the explorations of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 607) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 5835) to authorize the President to render closer and more effective the relationship between the American Republics, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 608) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 294) providing for the presentation through the American Minister to Greece of a certain monument to the people of Greece, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 609) thereon.

STUDY OF NATIONAL MONETARY AND BANKING POLICY—REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Mr. WAGNER, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, to which was referred the resolution (S. Res. 125)

providing for a study and determination of a national monetary and banking policy (submitted by himself on April 17, 1939), reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 600) thereon, and, by request of Mr. WAGNER and under the rule, the resolution was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. LOGAN:

S. 2606. A bill amending the Federal Reserve Act; declaring a monetary policy; establishing and instructing a monetary agency; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 2607. A bill authorizing the Comptroller General of the United States to settle and adjust the claim of Edith Easton and Alma E. Gates; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 2608. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to appoint Sgt. Samuel Woodfill a captain in the United States Army and then place him on the retired list; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. 2609. A bill to reimpose the trust on certain lands allotted to Indians of the Crow Tribe, Montana; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. WHEELER (for himself and Mr. TRUMAN):

S. 2610. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act, and for other purposes; and

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. 2611. A bill authorizing the purchase of a site and the erection of a building in the State of Massachusetts for use as a radio monitoring station, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. WAGNER:

S. 2612. A bill to amend the act of June 6, 1933, entitled "An act to provide for the establishment of a national employment system and for cooperation with the States in the promotion of such system, and for other purposes," and to extend the application of the civil-service laws and the Classification Act to the United States Employment Service; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. McCARRAN:

S. 2613. A bill to authorize reclassifications of lands in irrigable areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

By Mr. HATCH:

S. 2614. A bill for the relief of the estate of Fermin Martinez; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. BYRD:

S. 2615. A bill for the relief of George H. Wilson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SLATTERY:

S. 2616. A bill for the relief of Stacy C. Mosser, receiver for the Great Northern Majestic Building Corporation; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 2617 (by request). A bill to authorize the leasing of the undeveloped coal and asphalt deposits of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations in Oklahoma; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. GLASS:

S. 2618. A bill to extend the period during which direct obligations of the United States may be used as collateral security for Federal Reserve notes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. ADAMS:

S. 2619. A bill to provide a measure of damages for trespass involving timber and other forest products upon lands of the United States;

S. 2620. A bill to extend the public-land laws of the United States to certain lands, consisting of islands, situated in the Red River in Oklahoma;

S. 2621. A bill relative to the disposition of public lands of the United States situated in the State of Oklahoma

between the Cimarron base line and the north boundary of the State of Texas;

S. 2622. A bill to provide for the establishment of the Green Mountain National Park in the State of Vermont, and for other purposes;

S. 2623. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain property to Washington County, Utah, and for other purposes;

S. 2624. A bill to amend the act of August 24, 1912 (37 Stat. 460), as amended, with regard to the limitation of cost upon the construction of buildings in national parks;

S. 2625. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell or otherwise dispose of surplus animals inhabiting the national parks and national monuments, and for other purposes;

S. 2626. A bill to amend the act of June 30, 1936 (49 Stat. 2041), providing for the administration and maintenance of the Blue Ridge Parkway, in the States of Virginia and North Carolina, by the Secretary of the Interior, and for other purposes;

S. 2627. A bill to empower and authorize special agents and such other employees of the Division of Investigations, Department of the Interior, as are designated by the Secretary of the Interior for that purpose, to administer oaths in the performance of their official duties; and

S. 2628. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to accept donations of land, interests in land, buildings, or other property for the extension of national parks, national monuments, battlefield sites, national military parks, and other areas administered by the National Park Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. WHEELER:

S. J. Res. 153. Joint resolution to approve the action of the Secretary of the Interior in deferring the collection of certain irrigation charges against lands under the Blackfeet Indian irrigation project; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

STABILIZATION FUND AND WEIGHT OF THE DOLLAR—AMENDMENT

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, I understand that it has been determined that on next Monday the Senate will proceed to the consideration of House bill 3325, having to do with the stabilization fund and the adjustment of the monetary value of the dollar. On behalf of the junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] and myself I submit an amendment to that bill. The amendment is in the nature of a substitute. I ask unanimous consent that the amendment may be printed in the RECORD and also printed in the usual form and lie upon the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment submitted by Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma on behalf of Mr. McCARRAN and himself is as follows:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

"DECLARATION OF POLICY

"SECTION 1. That it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States that the price level as shown by the Bureau of Labor Statistics shall be adjusted to 100, and it shall be the duty of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the other executive departments of the Government to cooperate in the work of adjusting such price level as herein provided, and thereafter to keep such price level as nearly stable at such point of 100 as is humanly possible.

"CERTIFICATES AGAINST SURPLUS GOLD AUTHORIZED

"SEC. 2. There is hereby created in the Treasury a special reserve fund. There shall be covered into such fund (1) the sum of \$500,000,000 in free gold now held in the general fund of the Treasury, and (2) the sum of \$1,500,000,000 as provided in section 7 of this act. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to issue certificates against the gold in such fund. Such certificates shall be in such form as may be prescribed by the Secretary, shall have and possess all of the privileges and legal-tender characteristics of silver certificates now in the Treasury of the United States or in circulation, and shall be redeemable in any lawful money of the United States: *Provided*, That all such certificates shall be issued and paid into circulation to meet maturing bills and in such manner as to assist in carrying into effect the policy set forth in section 1 of this act.

"RELATING TO SILVER"

"SEC. 3. That the Silver Purchase Act (Public Law No. 438, 73d Cong.) is hereby repealed.

"The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to purchase at not less than \$1.04 per fine ounce all silver newly mined in the United States that may be offered for sale.

"The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to purchase all foreign silver which may be tendered in payment for agricultural products of the United States at a price which shall be 25 percent above the New York market price for foreign silver as of the date of sale of such agricultural products: *Provided, however,* That the price to be paid for all silver acquired pursuant to the provisions of this act shall not be higher than \$1.29 per fine ounce.

"The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to issue silver certificates against all silver purchased under this act on the basis of the monetary value of \$1.29 per fine ounce.

"The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to purchase silver, both foreign and domestic, pursuant to the provisions of this act, until the amount of silver held in the Treasury of the United States shall constitute 25 percent of the total metallic monetary reserves of the United States.

"CERTIFICATES OWNED BY UNITED STATES TO BE KEPT IN CIRCULATION"

"SEC. 4. When certificates issued under section 3 of this act, and when silver certificates issued under the provisions of this or any other act are received into the Treasury (other than by redemption) from any source whatsoever, and belong to the United States, they shall not be retired, canceled, or destroyed, but shall be re-issued and paid out again and kept in circulation; but nothing herein shall prevent the cancellation and destruction of mutilated certificates and the issue of other certificates of like denomination in their stead, as provided by law.

"SEC. 5. That subsection (a) of section 10 of the Gold Reserve Act of 1934, approved January 30, 1934, as amended, is further amended by striking out the period at the end of such subsection and adding thereto the words 'and to the Congress.'

"SEC. 6. The second sentence added to paragraph (b) (2) of section 43, title III, of the act approved May 12, 1933, by section 12 of said Gold Reserve Act of 1934, as amended, is further amended to read as follows: 'The powers of the President specified in this paragraph shall be deemed to be separate, distinct, and continuing powers, and may be exercised by him from time to time, severally or together, whenever and as the expressed objects of this section in his judgment may require; except that such powers shall expire June 30, 1941, unless the President shall sooner declare the existing emergency ended.'

"STABILIZATION FUND CONTINUED"

"SEC. 7. The sum of \$1,500,000,000 heretofore appropriated and covered into a stabilization fund, as provided by paragraph (b) of section 10, Public Law No. 87, Seventy-third Congress, approved January 30, 1934, is hereby reappropriated and covered into the special reserve fund as provided in section 2 of this act; and paragraph (c) of said section 10 of said Public Law No. 87, Seventy-third Congress, is hereby repealed.

"SEC. 8. The short title of this act shall be the 'Dollar Value Regulation Act of 1939.'"

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I rise, if I may properly do so at this time, to ask a question of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS]. If I heard him aright, he announced that he was going to propose an amendment to the stabilization fund bill.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. That is correct. The amendment has been offered.

Mr. ASHURST. Was it offered today?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Yes.

Mr. ASHURST. Did the Senator, in his amendment, consider the importance of fixing a proper price for silver domestically mined?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. The bill contains a section on silver. The section was drawn by a group representing the silver States, headed by the junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN].

Mr. ASHURST. Will the Senator, in brief outline, advise what his amendment does for silver?

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I shall be glad to yield to the junior Senator from Nevada to answer that question.

Mr. McCARRAN rose.

Mr. ASHURST. Before I propound a further question, I wish to say that I sometimes wonder how Congress can be so oblivious to such a simple yet vital matter. It is my opinion that the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of, say, 15 to 1; the fixation of a value not below 92 cents per ounce for domestically mined silver, would result in doing away with any need for W. P. A., P. W. A., or any other alphabetical relief. Within 90 days this proper and economically sound measure, coinage of silver, would give to the people the necessary confidence in their own mone-

tary system, and would restore at least half of the "money of the Constitution."

Some one has well likened the circulation of the monetary medium of a country to the circulation of the blood. It is possibly a metaphor that may have come down from Aristotle, though Aristotle did not know much about the circulation of the blood. At any rate, the historical character to whom I refer used the metaphor that the proper circulation of a sufficient blood stream would repair damage to the human body, and promote all necessary changes. The white corpuscles were likened to silver, the red corpuscles to gold.

If gold and silver, the metals of the Constitution, could circulate as money, we would begin to pay our national debt, we would begin to employ persons now unemployed; and I do not refer merely to the three or four hundred thousand persons who would be employed by the silver mines were the silver coined. Possibly 300,000 or 350,000 persons would be employed under the free coinage of silver, or under the fixation of the value of domestically mined silver at above 92 cents an ounce; but general prosperity would at once begin. It is one of the strangest ironies that ever afflicted a nation; it is one of those peculiar things that impishly happens to the human race, that Congress does not see that by the free and unlimited coinage of silver, fixation of a value of not less than 92 cents per ounce, and the restoration of the circulating medium of our Constitution, our appropriation bills would be reduced at least \$2,000,000,000 this year and \$3,000,000,000 next year; but whenever a weird settles over mankind it is practically impossible to remove or dissolve that weird.

The first English poet—who, by the way, was never in England—sang of the individual weird that settles over all human beings; and that weird in opposition to silver settled over us. If we could coin silver, I repeat, say at 15 to 1, fix the value of domestically mined silver at not less than 92 cents an ounce, prosperity would be here, and it will not be here until we do restore the "gold and the silver of the Constitution" as our circulating medium.

So I associate myself with the Senator from Oklahoma and the Senator from Nevada and all others who see even a fragment of light on the matter.

I will now ask the Senator from Nevada, with his permission, to supply me with his views.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, let me say in reply to the question propounded by the able Senator from Arizona that in the amendment which was submitted this morning, and which will be printed, there is a specific provision fixing the price of silver at \$1.04. The price of silver in the American dollar is \$1.29. We have been buying silver at 64.64 cents, which reflects a profit to the Government that is sometimes termed "seigniorage," which we believe should not pass in that way. We believe, however, that 25 cents of the \$1.29 is sufficient to pay for the mintage and the seigniorage, and that \$1.04 should be the fixed price for domestically mined and domestically produced silver, and for that only. Then we propose that when foreign silver is offered in payment for American farm products for export, we will take that silver.

Those, in general, are the provisions of the amendment which was submitted this morning by the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. ASHURST. If such a bill for the coinage of silver could be passed, I will venture to say it would be one of the most important bills, if not the most important, that Congress could pass.

I thank the Senate for its attention.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. ASHURST. I do.

Mr. WAGNER. I desire to suggest to the Senator that the so-called stabilization bill which has been reported by the Committee on Banking and Currency, and which is now upon the calendar, will come up, I take it, on Monday. At the close of the consideration of the calendar I propose to

move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of that bill, and that the Senate begin its consideration on Monday next. I take it that in the course of the consideration of the stabilization bill the amendment which is now being discussed will be offered and the whole subject then will be open for discussion.

I take it that is the procedure which the Senator from Oklahoma proposes to follow.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President—

Mr. ASHURST. I yield to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. I might suggest that the record shows that the true ratio between gold and silver as to production is less than 16 to 1.

Mr. ASHURST. If the Senator will pardon me, I said 15 to 1 would be satisfactory. I thank the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. In other words, since time began there has been less than 16 times as much silver by weight produced as there has been gold by weight produced, so far as history shows.

If I may have the floor for just a moment—

Mr. ASHURST. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. The bill which will come before the Senate on Monday carries three principal provisions.

The first provision is an amendment to a section of existing law which provides that the Secretary of the Treasury shall report to the President what he has been doing with the stabilization fund. The bill provides that the Secretary of the Treasury shall report to the Congress in addition to the President. That is provision No. 1.

Provision No. 2 proposes to extend the power in the hands of the President still further to devalue the gold dollar for 2 years from June 30, 1939, to June 30, 1941. It does not otherwise change existing law, but extends the power of the President, in his discretion, still further to devalue the gold dollar during the next 2-year period. At the present time the President has power to reduce the weight of the gold dollar from 15 $\frac{5}{21}$ grains of gold nine-tenths fine to 12.9 grains of gold nine-tenths fine.

He may take out any part of the present dollar down to a weight of 12.9 grains of gold, and if he does the part he takes out becomes profit.

If the President should exercise the power that he now has upon the gold that we have in the Treasury, which is over \$16,000,000,000 worth, by signing his name and devaluing the gold dollar from 15 $\frac{5}{21}$ grains to 12.9 grains he could thereby make for the Treasury a profit in excess of \$3,000,000,000. That would be a most valuable signature, and the Treasury needs the money. If the President should do that, the new dollar of a weight of 12.9 grains would be worth more in terms of property and commodities than was the old, big, gold dollar before Congress authorized its devaluation in 1933.

That is power No. 2 in the House bill. The President is given the power still further to devalue the gold dollar for 2 years after June 30.

The third provision in the bill relates to the stabilization fund. Congress heretofore took \$2,000,000,000 of the \$2,800,000,000 profit made from the former devaluation and created it into a stabilization fund, and placed that fund in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury for him to use as he sees proper in stabilizing the American dollar in terms of gold.

The sum of \$2,000,000,000 was placed in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury. The record shows that during these turbulent years he has never used more than \$200,000,000 of that money. That leaves eighteen hundred millions of gold in the stabilization fund, which has been there now for 6 years and has never been used. The bill proposes to extend that stabilization fund in its present amount of \$2,000,000,000 for another 2-year term, beginning June 30, 1939, and ending June 30, 1941.

Mr. President, those are the three provisions of the bill as it passed the House. So, if the House bill should be enacted, there would be no change in existing law save in one particular; that is, that the Secretary of the Treasury would have

to report to Congress in addition to reporting to the President.

The amendment offered by the junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] and myself this morning would not seriously alter the terms of the bill as it passed the House, and I shall explain it very briefly. We agree to the provision in the House bill that the Secretary of the Treasury shall report to the Congress in addition to reporting to the President. We agree that the President should have the power still further to devalue the gold dollar if he sees proper so to do. So, in that particular, we agree with the provision of the House bill.

When it comes to the stabilization fund, we do not agree that it is proper to extend the \$2,000,000,000 stabilization fund for another period of 2 years, when we have to borrow each year billions of dollars in order to run the Government. What Member of the Senate, if he had his pocket full of gold, would go to the bank and borrow a dollar to buy his lunch? That is practically what the bill proposes, to tie up for another 2-year period \$2,000,000,000, which could be used in many ways, which could be used to meet maturing obligations and to save us from borrowing money in the next 2 years.

I have not seen the Treasury report this morning, but the last report I saw showed that there were about \$700,000,000 of free gold in the general fund in the Treasury. The amendment proposes to create a special fund in the Treasury called a special reserve fund, and to take \$500,000,000 of the free gold in the Treasury and place it in this special reserve fund.

The amendment then proposes to leave \$500,000,000 in the stabilization fund, and make that a permanent fund; then to take the billion and a half dollars, which is not used, and which probably would not be used in the next 2 years, and transfer that to the special reserve fund. The transfer of \$500,000,000 from the general fund to the special reserve fund, and the billion and a half from the stabilization fund to the special reserve fund, would make the amount \$2,000,000,000.

Then we propose to direct the Secretary of the Treasury to issue a form of currency against that \$2,000,000,000 of gold, dollar for dollar. As to its form, the currency would be subject to the approval of the Secretary. It would be currency similar to silver certificates. There are now in circulation about sixteen hundred million dollars in silver certificates. These certificates are based upon silver, and they recite upon their face that there is in the Treasury a dollar's worth of silver back of each certificate of the face value of a dollar. If that is true—and I take it to be true—the silver certificate is based upon a dollar's worth of silver, not upon \$1.29 worth, as measured by a silver dollar. That is less than an ounce, less than 42 cents' worth. The silver in the silver dollar today, at the present metallic value, is worth only about 37 cents, certainly less than 40 cents. So the silver certificates we have in our pockets are based upon a dollar's worth of silver, and, at the present value of silver, it would take more than 2 ounces of silver to make a dollar. So there is somewhat more than 2 ounces of silver in the Treasury back of every dollar silver certificate. That makes the silver certificate equal to gold.

Mr. President, the amendment we offer provides, in one paragraph, that it shall be the duty of the Federal Reserve Board and other Federal officials to readjust the value of the dollar to the 1926 level. The value of the dollar now is \$1.32. At the present value of the dollar, every person who wants a dollar must give up \$1.32 worth of commodities, of goods, of wares, of services, in order to get a dollar. If the amendment should be adopted and be placed in operation, it would require the Federal Reserve Board to reduce the value of the present dollar from \$1.32 to 100 cents, which is the 1926 level. Then, when it was reduced to 100 cents, the Board would be under a mandate to keep the value of the dollar at 100 cents, as measured in property, as nearly as is humanly possible.

As I have stated, as a means of adjusting the value, the Treasury would have \$2,000,000,000 of a new form of cur-

rency, which could be used to pay bills, and, at the same time, the use of the currency would have a tendency to cheapen the dollar. The old economic law has never been repealed, and it cannot be repealed. That economic law is that when things are plentiful they are cheap, and when they are scarce they are high. For all these years money has been too scarce, and so it has been too high. We have been trying to make it a little bit cheaper, for to the extent that the dollar is cheapened prices will be increased.

The simple amendment—and it is very simple—which we have offered this morning carries out, in the main, the wishes of the administration. It gives the administration the power still further to devalue the gold dollar, if it sees fit so to do. It gives it \$500,000,000 in a stabilization fund to be held indefinitely. The administration wants \$2,000,000,000, and the amendment gives them \$500,000,000. The amendment gives the Treasury the power to pay off obligations, and, at the same time, it will make money more plentiful by placing it in circulation, and as money goes down in value property values will rise.

Mr. President, at this point I should like to state that tomorrow at 10:30 o'clock in the Committee on Indian Affairs room there will be a meeting of all Senators who care to go into this matter, to consider the bill which has passed the House, and which is before the Senate, and to consider and have explained the amendment we have offered. All Senators are invited to attend the meeting at 10:30 o'clock tomorrow morning in the Committee on Indian Affairs room, 424 Senate Office Building.

On Monday, when the House bill will be brought up, there will be an extended discussion of the provisions of the amendment. I may state that neither the House bill nor the amendment will be passed in the next few days, because it will take some time to discuss this all-important question.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, I have no intention of entering into this learned discussion of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the immortal ratio of 16 to 1. I express some regret that it appears now that that ratio is not so immortal; it has been changed to 15 to 1.

I think there is a new argument. As the Senator from Arizona says, it will not only end the depression but it will end all the alphabetical agencies which have been established. I begin to see the light. If that were a true prediction, I should feel like singing the hymn—

This is the day I long have sought,
And mourned because I found it not.

STABILIZATION FUND AND WEIGHT OF THE DOLLAR—ADDITIONAL AMENDMENTS

Mr. ADAMS and Mr. McCARRAN each submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them, respectively, to the bill (H. R. 3325) to extend the time within which the powers relating to the stabilization fund and alteration of the weight of the dollar may be exercised, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

SOCIAL SECURITY ACT—AMENDMENTS

Mr. GREEN submitted amendments and Mr. WAGNER submitted sundry amendments intended to be proposed by them, respectively, to the bill (H. R. 6635) to amend the Social Security Act, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

REVENUE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—AMENDMENTS

Mr. OVERTON submitted amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 6577) to provide revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia and ordered to be printed.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 2119.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Until the Senate has concluded the morning business, the motion is not in order.

Mr. McCARRAN. I beg the Chair's pardon. I thought morning business had been concluded.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no further bills and joint resolutions, concurrent and other resolutions are in order.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Has the Senator from Pennsylvania a resolution to offer?

Mr. DAVIS. I desire to make a few remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Pennsylvania will be recognized later, as the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] first asked recognition.

ACCEPTANCE OF STATUE OF WILL ROGERS

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, heretofore the State of Oklahoma has presented to the Government a statue of Will Rogers. The statue was unveiled on the 6th of June and was accepted on behalf of the Government by the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY]. I understand it is customary for the Congress by concurrent resolution formally to accept statues presented by the States, and, pursuing the policy heretofore established, I send to the desk a concurrent resolution and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will read the concurrent resolution.

The Chief Clerk read the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 21), as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the statue of Will Rogers, presented by the State of Oklahoma, now in the Capitol Building, is accepted in the name of the United States, and that the thanks of Congress be tendered the State for the contribution of the statue of one of its most eminent citizens, illustrious for his distinguished civic services.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, suitably engrossed and duly authenticated, be transmitted to the Governor of Oklahoma.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the concurrent resolution?

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was considered and agreed to.

FEDERAL PARTICIPATION IN CONSTRUCTION OF ATLANTIC-GULF SHIP CANAL

Mr. PEPPER submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 145), which was referred to the Committee on Inter-oceanic Canals:

Resolved, That the Committee on Inter-oceanic Canals, or a subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized and directed to make a study of ways and means whereby the Government of the United States may finance or participate in the financing of the proposed Atlantic-Gulf ship canal across Florida as recommended by the Chief of Engineers in his report embodied in House Document No. 194, Seventy-fifth Congress.

That said committee, or a subcommittee thereof, shall make a report to the Senate on or before January 15, 1940, and shall accompany the same by such recommendations as it may deem appropriate.

The said committee, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the Senate is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses, and the production of such books, papers, and documents, by subpoena or otherwise, and to take such testimony as it deems necessary. Subpenas shall be issued under the signature of the chairman or any member designated by him. The chairman of the committee or any member thereof may administer oaths to witnesses. Every person who, having been summoned, shall willfully default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer any question pertinent to the investigation heretofore authorized, shall be held to the penalties provided by section 102 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

All executive departments and independent establishments of the United States Government are hereby authorized, when requested to do so, to assist the said committee, or a subcommittee thereof, in making the study hereby authorized.

TRADE-AGREEMENTS PROGRAM AND AGRICULTURE—STATEMENT BY SENATOR MEAD

[Mr. MEAD asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement by himself on the subject of the Trade-Agreements Program and American Agriculture, which appears in the Appendix.]

DEATH OF AMERICANS IN AIRPLANE ACCIDENT IN MEXICO—ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR DANIELS

[Mr. SHEPPARD asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a memorandum relating to the death of Bronson

H. Rumsey and Daniel S. Roosevelt, and the injury to Miss Carlotta Constantine, in an airplane accident in Mexico on April 18, 1939, together with an address by Ambassador Daniels in connection with the accident, which appear in the Appendix.]

CLIMATE AND ITS EFFECT ON EFFICIENCY OF SOUTHERN WORKMEN—ADDRESS BY DR. J. N. BAKER

[Mr. HILL asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address on the subject of Climate and Its Effect Upon the Efficiency of Southern Workmen, delivered before the Birmingham (Ala.) Traffic and Transportation Club on June 12, 1939, by Dr. J. N. Baker, State health officer of Alabama, which appears in the Appendix.]

RADIO ADDRESS BY EDWARD A. O'NEAL

[Mr. GILLETTE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address delivered by Edward A. O'Neal, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, over the National Farm and Home Hour on June 10, 1939, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT—ADDRESS BY LLOYD K. GARRISON

[Mr. LA FOLLETTE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address delivered by Lloyd K. Garrison on June 7, 1939, on the subject of the National Labor Relations Act, which appears in the Appendix.]

A REMINDER TO THE YOUTH OF AMERICA ON FLAG DAY

[Mr. WAGNER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement published by the Jewish War Veterans of the United States entitled "A Reminder to the Youth of America on Flag Day," which appears in the Appendix.]

ORDER TO DISPENSE WITH CALL OF THE CALENDAR

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no further morning business the calendar under rule VIII is in order.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask unanimous consent that the call of the calendar be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRAINING OF CIVIL AIRCRAFT PILOTS

Mr. McCARRAN. I move that the Senate proceed to consider Senate bill 2119, to provide for the training of civil aircraft pilots, and for other purposes.

Mr. McNARY. Is that the aviation training bill?

Mr. McCARRAN. It is the bill providing for training of civil aircraft pilots.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Nevada.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2119) to provide for the training of civil aircraft pilots, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce, with amendments.

Mr. McCARRAN. I ask unanimous consent that the formal reading of the bill be dispensed with, that it be read for amendment, and that the committee amendments be first considered.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will proceed to state the amendments of the committee.

The first amendment of the Committee on Commerce was, in section 2, page 2, line 4, after the word "desirable", to insert a colon and the following proviso: "Provided, That in the administration of this act, none of the benefits of training or programs shall be denied on account of race, creed, or color", so as to make the section read:

SEC. 2. The Civil Aeronautics Authority is authorized, within the limits of available appropriations made by the Congress, to train civilian pilots or to conduct programs for such training, including studies and researches as to the most desirable qualifications for aircraft pilots. Such training or programs shall be conducted pursuant to such regulations as such Authority may from time to time prescribe, including regulations requiring students participating therein to maintain appropriate insurance and to pay such laboratory or other fees for ground-school training, not exceeding \$40 per student, as the Authority may deem neces-

sary or desirable: *Provided*, That in the administration of this act, none of the benefits of training or programs shall be denied on account of race, creed, or color. Such training or programs may be carried out either through the use of the facilities and personnel of the Authority or by contracts with educational institutions or other persons (as defined in sec. 1 (27) of the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938).

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 2, after line 11, to add a new section 3, as follows:

SEC. 3. At least 5 percent of the students selected for training under this Authority shall be selected from applicants other than college students.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 2, line 19, to strike out all of section 4 as follows:

SEC. 4. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act the Authority, in addition to the powers hereby conferred and imposed upon it, may exercise all powers conferred upon said Authority by the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938: *Provided*, That appointments of personnel from temporary service may be for periods not in excess of 1 year in any one case: *Provided further*, That the provisions of section 3790 of the Revised Statutes shall not apply to contracts with educational institutions and other persons for the use of aircraft or other facilities or for the performance of services authorized by section 2 of this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, after line 4, to insert a new section 5, as follows:

SEC. 5. For the purpose of carrying out its functions under this act, the Authority is authorized to exercise all powers conferred upon it by the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 and to appoint and fix the compensation of experienced instructors, airmen, medical and other professional examiners and experts in training or research without regard to the provisions of other laws applicable to the employment and compensation of officers and employees of the United States. The provisions of section 3709 of the Revised Statutes shall not apply to contracts with educational institutions and other persons for the use of aircraft or other facilities or for the performance of services authorized by section 2 of this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 7, page 4, line 4, after the words "sum of", to strike out "\$7,300,000" and insert "\$5,675,000"; in line 6, after "1940 and", to strike out "such other sums as may be necessary to carry out such provisions during subsequent fiscal years" and insert in lieu thereof "not to exceed the sum of \$7,000,000 during each subsequent fiscal year"; and at the end of the section to insert the following proviso: "*Provided*, That no alien shall receive training under the provisions of this act", so as to make the section read:

SEC. 7. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$5,675,000 for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act during the fiscal years 1939 and 1940 and not to exceed the sum of \$7,000,000 during each subsequent fiscal year. This act shall expire on July 1, 1944, and all contracts, leases, or other obligations entered into under this act shall expire on or prior to such date: *Provided*, That no alien shall receive training under the provisions of this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. McCARRAN. I ask that the clerk be instructed to renumber the sections.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, the Committee on Commerce favorably reported the Senate bill, and also favorably reported the House bill 5619. I now move that the House bill be substituted for the Senate bill 2119 and be presently considered.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be read by title.

The CHIEF CLERK. The bill (H. R. 5619) to provide for the training of civil aircraft pilots, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Nevada to substitute the House bill 5619 for the Senate bill 2119 and to consider the House bill at this time.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all after the enacting clause of the House bill 5619 be stricken out, and that the language of the Senate bill, as amended, be substituted therefor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Nevada that all after the enacting clause of House bill 5619 be stricken out and that the bill be amended by substituting the language of the Senate bill as it has just been acted upon. The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

The bill is still before the Senate and open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment, the question is on the engrossment of the amendment, and the third reading of the bill.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, Senate bill 2119 is indefinitely postponed.

FLAG DAY CELEBRATION, PHILADELPHIA, PA., JUNE 13-14, 1939

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, last evening I had the honor to sit in Independence Hall, and to occupy the seat once graced by George Washington. From this historic spot I could survey the growing glory of the American people. As I sat there in that famous hall and listened to stirring patriotic music my heart was touched and thrilled as it always is when I visit Independence Hall. As I prepared to address the meeting there on Flag Day my thought went back to my boyhood days, for a large number of foreign-born Americans and their descendants were present. Again I recalled that my father, born in a foreign land, was naturalized under the flag of the United States and remained a loyal and peaceful citizen under that flag to the day of his death. Through his naturalization I became a citizen of this free land. This was my father's flag, and it has been and is my flag. I was glad to have an opportunity to gather with so many other Americans in Independence Hall in Philadelphia—the birthplace of the Constitution and the home of the flag—in behalf of the fundamental institutions of our Government.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point the brief talk I made on that occasion.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

APOSTROPHE TO THE FLAG

(Flag Day celebration, Philadelphia, Pa., June 13-14, 1939, by Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS, United States Senator from Pennsylvania)

Flag of the United States of America, born on the battle storm of the Revolution, carried before Washington, flown from the masthead of glorious ships—thine it has ever been to lead the Nation in the hour of its peril; thine it has ever been—red, white, and blue—to lead us onward.

Flag of our hearts and flag of our deepest devotion, lifted above us to speak of liberty and justice, hold sacred forever in thy folds the cherished hopes of our beloved Republic—courage, purity, and faith.

Flag of the highways leading westward, flag of the mountains, the forests, the budding fields, and the broad flowing waters—long may your stars point to our matchless American heritage of untold riches in natural and human resources.

Flag of Betsy Ross and flag of Independence Hall, we are now come again to lift our hearts and voices in thy praise and to the all-loving Father from whom the inspiration of thy wondrous stars and stripes has ever been obtained.

Flag of the founding fathers, flag of the Constitution, flag of the Great Emancipator, and flag of our proud Republic—yours it has ever been to bring protection to little children, a strong defense for the widow, the orphaned, and the dependent—a never-failing refuge for the aged and the helpless.

Flag of peace and good will, unfurling banner of the Prince of Peace, emblem of universal brotherhood, under thy provident care men of all races, classes, and creeds have here been free to differ with each other and yet to unite together in their allegiance for the common good of all.

Flag of truth, the hope of artists, philosophers, builders, and men of science—keep forever clean thy white stripes that claim equal justice under law—the truth that makes men free.

Flag of the Battle Hymn of the Republic—stand watchfully on guard over our American principles of government—the balance of powers that forbid the tyrant's rod and the hard hand of the despot.

Flag of the Nation—united, noble, and free. Wherever these proud colors have streamed abroad, men have seen the daybreak of liberty dawn before them, rejoicing to follow the new life of freedom our flag has revealed.

Flag of 48 stars—in thy union of strength local liberties have been protected and the sovereignty of the people defended.

Flag of a free people—under thy fair stripes men and women from every land have here enjoyed freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly and all the American liberties we enjoy.

Flag of mighty heroes—leaders of a great people—defenders of human destiny—gallantly lead on. Keep faithful to their trust our prophets, poets, pilgrims, pioneers, and pastors of the race.

Flag of youth—struggling upward—forward—finding higher ground—guard our young men and women in their search for freedom and self-expression.

Flag of history—oldest, loveliest and most free—all hail. Here stand those who follow hard upon the footsteps of Columbus, Williams, Penn, Franklin, Morris, Salomon, Calvert, and Adams.

Flag of mercy—flag that cherishes the Red Cross nurse, the Salvation Army lassie, the angels of an unfailing tenderness in time of trial—hold firm within us this great compassion for human distress in all lands and among all people.

O flag, O proud flag of hope, how our hearts ache when we are compelled to reflect that in our great America there are now so many who have been deprived of work, whose hands are idle and whose minds are filled with brooding discontent.

What restless feelings stir within us as we think of the potential abundance that is ours while so many millions among us live always at the borderline of actual destitution and utter need.

O flag, O great flag of our fathers—help us to remove this blot from our fair land! May all people find work and the blessings that it brings.

This is our flag and ours to cherish.

Beneath this banner the oppressed and heart-wounded people of all the earth have found refuge.

Here they have gathered to find protection from tyranny and persecution. Here they have escaped torment and destruction.

Let us then twine each thread of these glorious tissues about us, thinking of our homes, our children, our deathless friendships, remembering the loved ones whose continued safety is wrapped up in these protecting folds.

Let us here dedicate our lives anew to the ideals of social and economic security for which our fathers laid down their lives.

Let us here defend and preserve the peace which led our fathers to these shores.

Let us here make and keep safe the value of justice without which no life is tolerable.

Let us do this in the name of humanity, our Nation, our flag, and our God.

STABILIZATION FUND AND WEIGHT OF THE DOLLAR

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 3325. If the motion is agreed to, I shall ask that consideration of the bill begin on next Monday instead of immediately.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the Senator from New York.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 3325) to extend the time within which the powers relating to the stabilization fund and alteration of the weight of the dollar may be exercised.

ORDER FOR RECESS—AUTHORIZATION TO REPORT AND SIGN BILLS, ETC.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate concludes its business today it stand in recess until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next, and that in the meantime all committees may be permitted to report bills, resolutions, and nominations; that the Vice President may be authorized to sign any bills that may become ready for his signature; and that the Secretary of the Senate may be authorized to receive messages from the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

PROPOSED PURCHASE OF GREENLAND

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, for some time past I have called the attention of the Senate to the necessity for outlying aviation bases, and to points of importance for national defense. Some days ago I delivered in the Senate a few remarks on negotiations for the purchase and acquisition of the Dutch possessions in America. For a few moments today I should like to call attention to another great base which I believe should be purchased from the Danish Government.

ANTARCTIC EXPEDITIONS

In that connection I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks certain articles concerning Arctic and Antarctic affairs which recently appeared in the current press. According to the articles, Admiral Richard E. Byrd told a House subcommittee that the Antarctic falls within the scope of the Monroe Doctrine; that there are 1,000,000 square miles of polar waste near Palmer Land; and that the northernmost land of the Antarctic is nothing more nor less than an extension of South America.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANTARCTICA IN SCOPE OF MONROE DOCTRINE, ADMIRAL BYRD SAYS—EXPLORER SUPPORTS BILL FOR UNITED STATES EXPEDITION STARTING IN FALL

Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd told a House Appropriations Subcommittee, its records showed today, that he believed much of the Antarctic falls within the scope of the Monroe Doctrine, thus binding the United States to resist European encroachment there.

Testifying in support of a \$340,000 appropriation for the Government's projected expedition to substantiate United States claims to about 1,000,000 square miles of South Polar wastes, Admiral Byrd said:

"That peninsula which is called Palmer Land, northernmost land of the Antarctic, is nothing more nor less than an extension of South America.

MANY NATIONS ACTIVE

"It is only about 575 nautical miles from the tip of South America to Palmer Land, and so this land falls naturally within the scope of the Monroe Doctrine, as also should, in my opinion, most of Antarctica that lies within the Western Hemisphere."

He said that in "half a dozen nations" there is activity in connection with exploration and claiming of land in the Antarctic.

Representative Woodrum, Democrat, of Virginia, acting chairman of the subcommittee, said he understood Admiral Byrd would head the forthcoming expedition.

UNITED STATES POLAR TRIP IN FALL—ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION DEPENDS ON \$340,000 FROM CONGRESS

Secretary of the Interior Ickes said yesterday the expedition into the Antarctic to stake out American claims to natural resources will sail in September if congressional authorization is forthcoming.

Ickes said the American party of 150 to 200 men probably will follow the west coast of South America to Valparaiso, Chile, which would serve as the "take-off point." The party would be unable to reach the Antarctic before late November and would require 2½ months to prepare camp.

The Interior Department has pending before the House Appropriations Committee a request for \$340,000 to finance the expedition which would be carried out in cooperation with the Coast Guard, Army, Navy, State, and other governmental agencies.

Ickes said if Congress approves the expedition it probably would be a continuous project over a period of 3 or 4 years. Survey parties and scientists would be replaced annually.

Ickes said tentative plans provide for surveys and mapping areas at the South Polar region which have been frequented by American explorers since 1820.

Government officials have consulted Lincoln Ellsworth, veteran explorer, and Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd, who headed expeditions to the North and South Poles. They hope to have Byrd lead the party.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD at this point in my remarks an article concerning Antarctica, showing that seven great nations are now engaged in making Antarctic claims. An appropriation of \$340,000 has been asked from Congress in this connection. I cite these facts to show how important to the Government are the North and South Polar regions.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANTARCTICA—A WAR FOR FROZEN COLONIES LOOMS IN THE WORLD'S VASTEST WASTE LAND

From Berlin in mid-April came news that a German expedition had claimed for Germany 230,000 square miles of Antarctica. This land lay in the eastern part of the polar continent in territory generally conceded to Norway. The Germans said they had found a chink in Norway's claim.

Month later came news from Washington that the United States Division of Territories was preparing a \$400,000 expedition equipped with sledges and planes with radio direction finders. This will be sent to Antarctica to lay formal claim to land explored by such Americans as Byrd and Ellsworth, whose claims have never been officially espoused by the United States Government.

Haphazardly explored, vaguely staked out, never colonized, Antarctica is a chilly caldron in which a series of international disputes

is brewing. Larger than Australia plus Europe without Russia, Antarctica is 5,500,000 square miles of frozen desert—the world's vastest waste land. Unlike the milder Arctic land, which supports plant and animal life, has more than 1,000,000 inhabitants, and possesses immediate value, Antarctica has no inhabitants, no trees, no flowering plants, no land animals except a few wingless insects of degenerate types.

No woman has ever been to Antarctica. Its only demonstrable commercial asset is whales. Only other known resource is coal, which lies in inaccessible and inferior deposits. The continent is of no present use as an air route. But the nations of the world have watched Russia's surprising development of the unpromising Arctic. Americans remember that Alaska was once called "Seward's folly." So rather than be caught short, nations are scurrying to gain possession of the world's least-known region.

PENGUINS ARE ANTARCTICA'S CITIZENS

Antarctic life consists mostly of whales, seals, penguins, gulls, terns, skuas, petrels. By far the most interesting citizens are the penguins, who abound by millions. In mid-October they follow the Antarctic spring in from the sea, now tobogganing down the ice cap, then walking bolt upright to rocky mating grounds.

THE CLAIMS OF SEVEN NATIONS CONFUSE ANTARCTIC GEOGRAPHY

Seven nations claim Antarctica. Their claims conflict, overlap, and result in a pretty state of geographical confusion. The British Empire claims three big pie-shaped sectors of the continent: Falkland Islands Dependencies, Ross Dependency, an Australian slice. A French claim is wedged in Australia's. Norway has a long stretch of coast called Queen Maud Land. But, as the map at right and the key below show, the claims of other nations rest right on these sectors. Their territories run around the rim of the continent. How far back toward the pole they go has never been settled. Ellsworth's "American Highland" claim sits right on Australia's sector. Byrd partially explored New Zealand's territory. Oldest of all Antarctic titles dates back to 1493, when the Pope divided the whole non-Christian world into two parts, giving one half to Spain and the other to Portugal. Yet, strictly speaking, all these claims are not actually claims. Only Britain, France, and Norway have officially insisted that they own any of Antarctica. The other countries have never taken official action on land staked out for them by their citizens. But when the time comes for nations to divide Antarctica these unofficial claims may well be the basis for the division.

This contentious continent is the most isolated of the world's seven continents. To oceanographers, Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas, and Australia all stand on a common "continental slope." But Antarctica alone is not on this continental slope. It is cut off from the other continents by an ocean which plunges to abyssal depths of at least 12,000 feet.

The Arctic is circumpolar ocean surrounded by land. Antarctica is a circumpolar continent surrounded by ocean. It is the world's highest continent. Its mean altitude of 6,000 feet is almost double that of Asia, the next highest continent, which, for all its Himalayas, has a mean altitude of only 3,200 feet. The South Pole itself is situated in a spreading plateau whose average height is about 9,000 feet. This high land is probably the coldest in the world. Once, however, Antarctica was warmer. This was in the carboniferous age, 250,000,000 years ago, when most of the earth enjoyed a mild and genial climate. Antarctica's coal deposits and fossils are relics of the vegetation of a tropical climate.

The ice which now covers Antarctica extends out in some places in huge sheets attached to the mainland. Biggest of these sheets is the Ross Shelf, which cuts inland to 300 miles of the Pole. Many polar explorers have used its smooth surface, and on its edge Admiral Byrd built his Little America.

Byrd Land is shown in detail on opposite page. This map also lists a few mountains and bays which the admiral named after friends, relatives, financial backers. Sulzberger Bay is named for publisher of the New York Times. Iphigene is Mrs. Sulzberger. Marie Byrd Land is named after Mrs. Byrd, Mount Farley after the Postmaster General, Jessie O'Keefe after the wife of an expedition member. One well-known name not on the map is Lydia Pinkham. The heirs of Mrs. Pinkham were willing to help finance Byrd on condition that he name a mountain for the maker of the famous compound. The admiral, however, balked at the proviso and, though badly in need of the money, returned the donation.

GREENLAND—AN AVIATION BASE

Mr. LUNDEEN. Not long ago the Soviet Government sent a plane from Moscow to New York. The plane flew across Scandinavia and Iceland, touched the southern tip of Greenland, and came on down into Canada. It did not complete its flight, but it made a marvelous journey; and in making that journey it passed the aviation base of Greenland at Cape Farewell.

RUSSIAN-AMERICAN FLIGHT

It is the habit of many of us to look upon Greenland as somewhat of an impossible place, of no earthly use to anybody for anything. However, it was my pleasure to talk to these Soviet aviators, through an interpreter. I asked them what would have happened to their plane if their engines had gone out of commission as they passed Cape Farewell. They said they could have landed some 40 miles to the north, on

fields which are in proper condition for landing. Seaplanes can land in numerous harbors in that locality.

At this point in my remarks I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD an article concerning the Soviet flyers.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of April 28, 1939]

SOVIET PLANE OFF FOR NEW YORK FROM MOSCOW—FLYING BY WAY OF ICELAND, DUE HERE TONIGHT

Moscow, Friday, April 28.—Col. Vladimir Kokkinaki, Soviet long-distance flyer, took off at 4:19 a. m. today (8:19 p. m. in New York Thursday) on a projected nonstop flight to New York.

Tass, official Soviet news agency, which announced the take-off, said Colonel Kokkinaki would follow a course by way of Iceland and Greenland on the flight of approximately 4,600 miles. The colonel is accompanied by Maj. Mikhail Gordienko, veteran Russian navigator and radio operator.

The "great circle route" they proposed to follow is on a direct course between Moscow and New York. On the map the course appears as a sweeping curve through Norway and Iceland, across the southern tip of Greenland to Labrador and Newfoundland, across New Brunswick and the coast of Maine and over Boston to Floyd Bennett Field.

The plane, christened the *Moskva* (Moscow) got away to a beautiful start. Weather conditions were perfect. The craft, a red twin-engined monoplane, though heavily loaded, lifted itself easily on its way down the long runway.

The veteran flyers expected to reach New York in 25 hours and be there before the opening of the world's fair Sunday.

The take-off came after 2 days of waiting for favorable weather reports. Colonel Kokkinaki had his plane ready Wednesday morning, and high-ranking Soviet officials were gathered at the airport to see him leave, but he was forced to postpone the start after waiting an hour. He had hoped to get away yesterday, but another postponement was forced by the weather.

Radio broadcasts in Russian to provide a beam to direct the Russian flyers will be given every 15 minutes over station WOR beginning at 3 o'clock this afternoon, it was announced last night.

The station, at the request of the Soviet Government, it was said, will send out identifying call letters and weather reports until the plane carrying Col. Vladimir Kokkinaki and Maj. Mikhail Gordienko lands in this country. The flight, according to WOR officials, is expected to end here at about midnight.

EUROPE CONSIDERS GREENLAND

Mr. LUNDEEN. Recently Paul Mallon, in an article published in the general press, spoke of a mission of the Germans to Iceland. I do not quite approve of the language he used. I think some of his words were provocative statements against a friendly nation.

Mr. Mallon spoke of the mission to Iceland to establish an air base. If the German Government is interested in having a base in Iceland, it probably is interested in having bases in Greenland as well, believing that the circle route from Berlin to the Scandinavian countries, to Iceland, to Greenland, and thence to America, is a feasible route for planes. Some portions of the article by Mr. Mallon are of interest. I ask that the article be inserted in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BEHIND THE NEWS—NAZI AIR EXPEDITION TO ICELAND PUZZLES; CALLED NUISANCE MOVE

(By Paul Mallon)

The sneak mission which Hitler sent into Iceland a few weeks back to seek an air base has not withdrawn as advertised.

Authorities here who have been somewhat troubled and amazed by the move have received some private advices which are both amusing and disquieting. The situation has been jumbled by conflicting claims and denials, but it is clear that a Deutsche Lufthansa mission did undertake to get an Iceland base, did make air-map surveys of Iceland harbors, and did not go away when dispatches from that remote region indicated they did.

What Hitler wants with an Iceland air base is not evident, but it is certainly not any of the reasons that are being publicly offered. Lufthansa announced it wanted this air peg, hanging far over England's head and only a few hundred miles from Greenland, because it would be good for a north trans-Atlantic service.

Unannounced truth is Hitler has been told he would not be given landing privileges in this country for a trans-Atlantic service. The official excuse is that this Government (the Civil Aeronautics Authority) does not want four or five foreign trans-Atlantic air services started against our one. Only the British service has been authorized in addition to Pan American.

The grandiose idea that Hitler might use this springboard to launch suicide bombing squads upon the United States or Britain is slightly too fantastic to be considered here.

GREENLAND EQUALS TEXAS AND ALASKA

Mr. LUNDEEN. Greenland is an island of 827,000 square miles, between the North Atlantic and the Polar Sea. At its southernmost point it is separated from the North American Continent by the confluence of the Davis and Hudson Straits. Davis Strait separates Greenland from Baffin Land, and Hudson Strait separates Baffin Land from Canada. Greenland lies on the continental shelf of North America. In this respect it differs from Spitzbergen, which lies on the continental shelf of northern Europe.

Up to the time of the explorations of the seventeenth century it was the common belief that both these islands formed what has been termed "a large continuous 'hat' put on the Arctic Ocean," and they were thought to be part of a single area in the Arctic. The Arctic Circle cuts across Greenland about 800 miles north of the southern tip of Greenland.

It will be noted that the southern tip of Greenland is a considerable distance from the Arctic Circle.

This part of the world has been traveled more by white men in the last 20 years than during the previous 200 years. Our knowledge is more accurate of climatic conditions and geographic conditions. Surface transportation is being replaced by airplanes. Aviation is the greatest single factor now contributing to the development of the north.

ONLY 600 MILES FROM LABRADOR

The village of Godthaab, capital of Greenland, on the western coast of Greenland on Davis Strait, is only 600 miles from the town of Hebron, in Labrador, the nearest point to Greenland on the North American Continent proper.

The town of Holsteinborg is approximately 250 miles across the Davis Strait from Baffin Island on the west.

Senators who will refer to the maps will note the steps—Labrador 600 miles from Greenland, a few hundred miles more to the east Iceland, and then the Faroe Islands, and then the step to the Scandinavian Peninsula, and from the Scandinavian Peninsula to the mainland of Europe. For aviation the distances across the ocean between these various places are short.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BILEO in the chair). Does the Senator from Minnesota yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. LUNDEEN. I yield to the senior Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. NORRIS. Can the Senator give us the distances between the various points he has just enumerated?

Mr. LUNDEEN. I will be very glad to see that the exact distances are placed in the RECORD for the Senator's information.

I will say to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska that I will cite aviators who have crossed Greenland's northern ice cap to the effect that they consider the route across the ocean from Labrador to Greenland to Iceland and then to the Scandinavian Peninsula as the safest route for aviation. Slightly better climatic conditions obtain on the route from New York to Bermuda to the Azores and to Portugal, but the distances on that route are much greater and the danger of ocean travel greatly increased thereby, whereas on the northern route the distances are very short, and aviators tell us, much to the surprise of the layman in that connection, that the weather conditions in the north are not so unfriendly as might be imagined. I will go into that to some extent in the course of my remarks.

AIR-LINE DISTANCES, GREENLAND-ICELAND ROUTE

I will say to the Senator from Nebraska, who inquired about distances along the Greenland-Iceland route, they are about as follows: 600 miles Labrador to Greenland, 250 miles Greenland's nearest point to Iceland, 300 miles Iceland to Faroe Islands, 250 miles Faroe Islands to Shetland Islands, and 250 miles Shetland Islands to Norway—five short steps, so short that aviators will not need to stop at all points, but available if necessary.

HISTORY—VIKING DISCOVERIES

The discovery of Greenland is recounted in the sagas of the Vikings and in old Scandinavian manuscripts. These accounts tell of the discovery of Greenland about A. D. 876 or 877 and the subsequent establishment of a settlement in Greenland about A. D. 985 by a Viking rover, Eric the Red, who sailed from Iceland. The ruins of this colony, which lasted more than 400 years, are still in existence in Greenland.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

Reports of "land to the west" are said to have reached this colony, and the sagas relate that Leif, the son of Eric the Red, set sail on the voyage of discovery which resulted in the first known visit to the North American Continent. There is another report to the effect that Leif, in a voyage from Iceland to Greenland, was blown out of his route by adverse winds, missed the southern point of Greenland, and landed either at Newfoundland or Labrador. There were later voyages of discovery as far south as Massachusetts. A leader of one of these later expeditions was Thorfinn Karlsefni, the brother-in-law of Leif, who sailed with 3 ships and 160 men and women and founded a colony somewhere along the North American coast, where his son, Snorre, was said to have been born, the first white child born in America.

CHURCHES ESTABLISHED IN GREENLAND

A separate bishopric was established for Greenland in the eleventh century and was governed by the German archbishop at Hamburg. This was 300 years before Columbus. Later the archbishop of Norway governed the Greenland church, according to modern scholars and historians. This separate bishopric was apparently continued until about the fifteenth century up to the time of the Reformation and until after the expedition of Columbus to America.

ICELAND AND GREENLAND

It is said that in A. D. 930 there were about 50,000 Europeans in Iceland, although that country was wholly independent of Europe. The language was Norse. There was also a very large percentage of Irish blood.

IRISH DISCOVERERS IN AMERICA

By the way, that brings to mind that our good friends the Irish claim that they were the first to discover North America. The discoverers were probably some descendants of the Irish who went to Iceland. That we will have to leave to history and historians.

Iceland has the oldest constitutional representative government in Europe; it has had a continuous representative government for more than 1,000 years.

VIKING RELICS IN CANADA

It is interesting to note that there was recently discovered by a prospector near Beardsmore, in the Nipigon region of northwestern Ontario, the grave of a Norseman and rusty pieces of a sword of ancient make and an equally ancient ax head, as well as the part of a viking shield. These relics were brought to the Royal Ontario Museum at Toronto and were authenticated as Norse weapons of the eleventh century.

AN OUTPOST OF THE VIKINGS

Greenland was the way station for the Vikings on their journeys from Iceland on their voyages of discovery to the North American Continent.

It was on the first sea route to America for the Vikings' discoveries about the year 1000, and before the rediscovery of America by Columbus. It was the outpost of the European civilization. At times the light of civilization in Greenland burned out completely, as shown by the ancient records. History records that whole colonies in Greenland were completely wiped out either by the Eskimos, the plague or other diseases, or a combination of all. It also appears that for spaces of 50 or 100 years the mother countries of the North forgot their adventurous child in that distant outpost.

GREENLAND COMPARES WITH TEXAS AND ALASKA IN TERRITORY

Greenland has an area which is almost as large as the combined areas of the State of Texas and the Territory of Alaska,

and yet it has a population estimated at only 16,000 plus, of whom approximately 325 are Europeans and the remainder Eskimos. The area of the island along the coast is about 47,000 square miles and the interior of the island is a very high plateau with an altitude of approximately 9,000 feet. This plateau is covered with the well-known ice cap, estimated to be from one to several thousand feet in thickness. The coast is cut up by fjords and dotted with islands.

DENMARK AND GREENLAND

Greenland is a colony of Denmark, and the commerce with Greenland has been a state monopoly of Denmark for about 150 years. It is neither the forbidding polar land of everlasting snow and ice nor the garden spot suggested by the Norwegian claims debated at The Hague. Greenland may be compared to a vast platter of which the rim is mountainous and the bowl, six-sevenths of the platter's area, is filled to overflowing with eternal ice.

Southern Greenland has an area of fertile land where sheep and cows thrive, and some short-season crops mature. These spots were colonized by Eric, and for centuries supported thousands. Here and there along the western coast northward to Melville Bay are grazing areas where great herds of reindeer can be maintained. Perhaps more than this might be done. But what is done now is what concerns us today.

In north Greenland men live on land and as a rule earn their living on the sea, the catch including seals, sometimes a whale, and fish in their season. These are their food.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

They are also hunters and traders. They trade skins and furs for merchandise available at Danish outpost stores. In the remote trading posts one meets the finest manhood of the race and its older customs. It is the least commercially developed of circumpolar countries. The prime concern of Denmark has been to keep the 17,000 Eskimos alive and in good health. There are about 500 whites in Greenland. The natives have been encouraged to retain their traditional foods. This keeps them self-supporting and self-respecting. The principal foods imported are sugar and cereals, which will not grow there. There is excellent medical service in Greenland, established and supported by the Danish Government. I may say to the senior Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] that medical service is a matter of the state in Greenland. The able Senator may be interested in the history and success of state medicine in that far-distant land.

Danish is taught in the Eskimo language schools. There are also Eskimo books printed in Denmark and in Greenland. An annual is printed in Eskimo by and for the Eskimos and has been published in Greenland since 1861.

The Government is considering the introduction of reindeer and the domestication of the musk ox. In this way the Eskimos might be independent of hunting and fishing. Several years ago sheep were introduced, and they now number only about 10,000, but the climate and vegetation have proved well-suited to sheep raising. A small dairy industry exists, capable of limited expansion.

SNOW-FREE AREA EQUALS GREAT BRITAIN

Greenland is 85 percent snow covered in midsummer. The snow-free area—16 percent—amounts to some 130,000 square miles, an area larger than the British Isles. The largest snow-free area is at its tip, which is the northernmost land in the world. In the summer this land, named after Perry, who discovered it, is green with grass and bright with flowers. Numerous birds, insects, and mammals are found there. Birds migrate, while the mammals stay the year around.

Marble has been exported in small quantities. Greenland's only important mineral development is the cryolite mine at Ivigtut which has been operated successfully for several decades by an American company. Cryolite is a source of aluminum, sodium, and other important substances. The mine is located on a reservation. Eskimos are excluded in accordance with Danish Government quarantine program

for preventing the white man's diseases from being disseminated among the native population. A similar reservation has been established for the Faroese fishing fleet in order that it may exploit the rich west Greenland fisheries.

Some of the world's greatest commercial fishing grounds are on the fringe of the Arctic. In this connection I wish to call attention to the fact that Alaska, which cost us \$7,200,000, has returned to the United States more than \$1,000,000,000 from its fisheries. It is about time that we gave some attention to other regions of the far north and the far south.

PAN AMERICAN AIRWAYS IN GREENLAND

No Arctic country has had such a thorough scientific study as Greenland. There have been large Danish scientific endowments as well as Government endowments to maintain research workers in practically every branch of the natural and social sciences. The airplane has been used extensively by both Danish and foreign scientists. Americans have been foremost in studying Greenland from the aeronautical point of view. The most important expeditions of this kind were the four sponsored by the Pan American Airways, each of which stayed in Greenland a whole year. Through this means the aeronautical conditions of Greenland are now fairly well known. Greenland is in a position to play a unique roll in the development of trans-Arctic flying. The practically level top of its great ice cap forms a continuous, nearly perfect emergency landing field 1,500 miles long and up to 600 miles wide. This ice cap is the only large survivor of the last Ice Age left in the Northern Hemisphere. There are many drawbacks, however. The fact that the ice cap forms a high plateau facing the sea inevitably causes it to assist in the formation of local gales along the coast. Coastal bases can be selected which are not particularly windy, however. On the whole, Greenland's climate seems suitable to aviation.

AMERICA WILL SOME DAY ACQUIRE GREENLAND

I want to say to the Senate, so far as I am concerned, that I am not disturbed about the acquisition and purchase of Greenland setting the world afire; but it will be acquired by the United States. We shall some day negotiate for Greenland, and it will be under the American flag, and our commercial air fleets will use it as a base. I am willing to let that statement stand in the RECORD. These things are inevitable. The whole screen of islands up and down the Atlantic coast, these various foreign possessions, are all American. They are of a right American. And some day in the not distant future the American flag will fly over them all. They are near our coasts. They furnish great bases and aviation outposts. They have great resources. That is the reason why I call this matter to the attention of the Senate today.

GREENLAND, ICELAND SHORTEST ROUTE TO EUROPE

The most direct routes from Chicago and other western cities to Paris, Berlin, London, and Moscow lie across Greenland. Air lines can now begin to make reservations for radio stations and landing places along the coast. Radio and supply stations will also be required at one or more inland points across the ice cap, which is 600 or 700 miles wide. These stations could easily be maintained, as was shown by the British and German expeditions that wintered there in 1930 and 1931 at 8,600- and 10,000-foot elevations at 67° and 71° north latitude. The climate in the far north is not an insurmountable handicap to white settlement. The majority of those who have lived there for the past several years testify to that.

In that connection, I wish to say that I am interested in the establishment and maintenance of white settlements in Greenland, primarily as a sustaining base for aviation. We can place colonists there; they can support themselves, and in that way be self-sustaining so far as the maintenance of aviation outposts is concerned.

Swedish botanists have discovered about 120 various varieties of plants and flowers on the eastern coast of Greenland. On the other hand, there are approximately 300 different kinds of plants and flowers on the western coast of Green-

land, due to the more favorable climate. With Government aid Greenland could produce much food, cereals, meat, and fish, which could be marketed in the populated areas of the North Temperate Zone. Mining seems to offer the best opportunity for private enterprise in the American Arctic. Only the Russians are utilizing the resources of the Arctic and sub-Arctic on a large scale. Presumably the other circumpolar countries will undertake extensive projects within their Arctic territories only if they become convinced that military necessities demand it.

It is of interest to know that when the United States purchased the Virgin Islands from Denmark in 1916 our country relinquished its claim to certain parts of northern Greenland, which we claimed by right of discovery by Admiral Peary. Following the relinquishment by the United States of its claim to this part of Greenland, Denmark declared the entire island of Greenland Danish Territory in 1921, and at that time virtually closed the territory to non-Danish vessels.

NORWEGIAN CLAIMS AND DISCOVERIES

While the claims which this country relinquished, based on the discovery of Admiral Peary, were deemed at the time to be of doubtful value, measured in terms of the wealth of the particular part of Greenland, which was claimed by such right of discovery and exploration, yet that claim had a certain intrinsic value. This fact is now recognized more thoroughly for several reasons, more particularly in consideration of the value of Greenland for refueling facilities for airplanes, and in view of the present effort to establish the claims of Norway to certain rights in Greenland. In this connection, passing reference may be made to the fact that the Treaty of Paris in 1920 handed over the sovereignty of Spitzbergen to Norway with certain similar conditions, which conditions are now in controversy.

RESOURCES

The mineral resources of Greenland are not completely explored as yet. The deposits of cryolite, however, are known to be the largest in the world. Graphite is another important resource. Arctic mammals are an important item of trade, and various Arctic furs are a subject of export.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

Imports from Denmark in 1935 amounted to approximately 1,778,000 kroner, and exports amounted to 5,635,000 kroner. The rate of exchange is 20.92. In 1936 the exports to the United States were \$572,000, and the imports from the United States were only \$1,476. The balance of trade as to both Denmark and the United States is, then, heavily in favor of Greenland.

SETTLEMENTS

There are several settlements on the coast of Greenland. Godthaab, the capital, is the largest, with a population of 1,300, and is in one of the many valleys of Greenland facing a half-moon harbor. Other settlements are Holsteinberg, Julianehaab, which is at the southern tip of Greenland, and Angmagssalik, on the eastern coast of Greenland. The settlements mentioned were all visited by Colonel Lindbergh and his wife on their airplane trip to Europe via Greenland in the summer of 1933.

GREENLAND ON THE ATLANTIC AIR ROUTES

Colonel Lindbergh made a flying trip around the North Atlantic in 1933, leaving the North American continent proper at Hebron, on the coast of Labrador, flying to Greenland, back to Baffin Island, then to the east coast of Greenland, then to Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and thence to the continent. The flying colonel, with his usual keen analysis of the future of air navigation, pointed out at that time that under present conditions there are three possible practical air routes between America and Europe. The northernmost of these routes is the one that he flew in 1933; that is, through Greenland and Iceland. The advantage of this route is that it affords frequent bases and refueling facilities, and it has the shortest distances between land. The shortest water distance route south of the Arctic is from Newfoundland to the Azores; and the southernmost route which is the

most desirable from a climatic standpoint, would be by way of Bermuda and the Azores. There is, of course, a fourth route, which would be impractical for commercial traffic between the United States and Europe, and that is known as the South America route, by way of Africa.

COLONEL LINDBERGH EXPLORES GREENLAND

Colonel Lindbergh has pointed out that a commercial air line, in order to be profitable, must pay its cost of operation from the revenue received from the load it carries; and from this standpoint it is highly desirable to have refueling bases at relatively short distances.

The desirability of such refueling stations from an economic standpoint is readily apparent when it is understood that every additional mile which must be flown without refueling means that more fuel and less pay load are carried.

Greenland becomes a source of interest, then, not as a way station for sea travel, but as refueling stations for air travel; and this includes not only airplanes but also airships, such as the Zeppelins.

While it is realized that rapid changes are being made in air transportation, that new methods and new designs are being made, some of which may permit long-distance flights with comparative safety in the near future, yet for the present it is apparent from recent experiences of flights across the Atlantic from west to east, so-called nonstop flights, that there are elements of considerable hazard, so that at the present time it is evident that intermediate facilities such as those afforded by Greenland and Iceland are of great value.

The greatest value of Greenland in the near future would appear to be that of an intermediate base for refueling stations for air navigation between Europe and the North American continent.

While Greenland contains undeveloped resources from a mineral standpoint, and also presents a station for a meteorological laboratory and a base for cable facilities, yet its value for these purposes fades into insignificance when weighed against the advantages of the island as an air base or a base for sea raiders.

MILITARY VALUE—A BASE FOR RAIDERS AND PLANES

While it is true that the strategic position of Greenland is not exactly analogous to that of Spitzbergen, yet a look at the map will disclose even to one inexperienced in military strategy that south Greenland, which in point of distance is further south than Spitzbergen, is nearer to the American continent, and bears the same geographical relationship to the North American Continent that Spitzbergen bears to the continent of Europe. With this observation in mind, it is interesting to read expert British opinion expressed in 1920 in connection with the Treaty of Paris, transferring a conditional sovereignty of Spitzbergen to Norway, which is quoted by Baron Dr. Lage v. Staël-Holstein in his treatise on Norway in Arcticum, published in 1932, on page 44, as follows:

It is clear that Spitzbergen, in the hands of a hostile power or of a power unable to defend its neutrality, might become a base for raiders on the commerce around the north cape. Such a base, well supplied with coal, oil, and iron, and provided with a deep-water harbor, might well become a nest of submarine pirates. Spitzbergen might still serve as a base for swift and deadly attack. There are several suitable sites for airdromes, of which the Foreland Laichs, some 30 square miles in area, is probably best. From there attacks would be possible on northwestern Europe and on shipping in both the North Sea and the North Atlantic.

A BRITISH OBSERVATION

If the British were so apprehensive that Spitzbergen, in the hands of a power unable to defend its neutrality, might become a base for raiders, so that it became necessary to incorporate in article 9 of the treaty a provision whereby Norway undertook not to create nor to allow the establishment of any naval base in any of the territory, and not to construct any fortifications in the said territories, and to impose a collective guaranty for that purpose, then might it not well be argued with equal force that our country has a similar interest in Greenland, should Denmark be unable to defend its neutrality, or should Greenland by chance fall into the hands of a hostile power?

DEMILITARIZATION OF SPITZBERGEN

Spitzbergen, by the Treaty of Paris, has been demilitarized in the same manner as the Aland Islands in the Baltic. But witness today the feverish effort of Sweden and Finland to remilitarize the Aland Islands.

The allied powers, by the Treaty of Paris, while transferring sovereignty of Spitzbergen to Norway, nevertheless imposed a military servitude in the nature of a neutralization of the island.

CRIMEAN WAR AND WORLD WAR EXPERIENCE

It will be remembered that during the Crimean War the Russian fleet is reported to have had a base at Spitzbergen, and during the World War the English fleet kept the Germans out of that zone. It is not contended that an exact analogy exists in the case of Greenland, but no one who is familiar with the military theory of sea power, as expounded by Admiral Mahan, will deny the strategic importance of Greenland from the standpoint of sea power and, further, from the standpoint of the more important modern expedient of air power.

Russians already announce their desire to establish, as soon as possible, direct service across the Arctic between large population centers and North America. They have to wait until terminals in other foreign countries cooperate and foreign air lines cooperate. Routes across the Arctic are direct, whereas tropical routes are roundabout, as can be seen by one who studies a globe and notices the distribution of world population and the centers of political and economic power.

TRANS-ARCTIC AIRWAYS

In Norway, numerous prominent aviation men are on record favoring trans-Arctic airways. Norway is strategically placed on a great circular route between Europe and America. Canada and Greenland are as well if not better placed strategically than is Norway to profit from this transpolar traffic. There is a growing sentiment in each of these countries for taking advantage of their geographical positions.

Arctic flying is safer and easier in midwinter than in midsummer. Canadian airmen are now second only to Russian aviators in their belief that flying can be carried on under more favorable conditions in the Arctic than in many other parts of the world where air traffic is a part of everyday life.

CLIMATIC CONDITIONS

The Arctic Ocean, as Nansen pointed out, is one of the least stormy regions in the world. Fogs are rare in the winter over both land and sea. Ice on planes constitutes less of a flying hazard than it does in the north half of the North Temperate Zone. Fogs are denser and more numerous in the Arctic than in the Tropics, but Arctic fogs are less dense and less numerous than in the North Temperate Zone. In the number and size of emergency landing places, an important factor in aviation, the Arctic and north third of the Temperate Zone excel the rest of the world. Good landing places in the winter are no more than 20 miles apart.

The Levanovsky party flight, made in 1937, was the first on which lives were lost during 15 years of flying over the Arctic Sea. By 1930 scientists almost unanimously agreed that on the average Arctic flying conditions are good. Being so, one would think the great air powers would have begun to lay plans for trans-Arctic airlines. As a matter of fact, only Russia has done this. Others hold back. They might find it politically advisable to establish their first transcontinental airways parallel with the chief steamship routes.

I have here some selected statistics which I wish to place in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the statistics were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Statistics for Greenland, 1936 (from Statesman's Yearbook)

Population	16,630
Area	736,518 square miles
Foreign trade (the trade of Greenland is a state monopoly):	
Exports to Denmark	5,201,000 kroner
Imports from Denmark	2,182,000 do.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, I wish now to refer to an able article in Foreign Affairs, the issue of April 1939,

by Vilhjalmur Stefansson, the great explorer, the article being entitled "The American Far North." The article is quite long, and I merely refer to it, so that we may have the reference.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LUNDEEN. I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. MEAD. I am very much interested in the splendid statement being made by the able Senator, but unfortunately I was not in the Chamber when he took the floor, and I am wondering whether he is recommending the establishment of an air line through the Arctic region, or recommending that a survey be made by the Civil Aeronautics Authority, or is just pointing out the feasibility or practicability of a line of this character.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I have before me a resolution providing for the acquisition of Greenland by negotiation and purchase from the Danish Government, the chief point of interest being the establishment of air bases there for future navigation and to prevent the acquisition of Greenland by any hostile foreign power now or in the future, it being recognized that the power now in control of the island will be unable to prevent forcible occupation of this great area of 827,000 square miles, with a snow-free area of 130,000 square miles, which is larger than the combined area of the British Isles. I ask that my joint resolution be printed at this point.

There being no objection, the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 119) was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows: Providing for negotiations by the President with a view to the acquisition, by purchase, of Greenland

Whereas the United States would be able to make more adequate provision for its national defense, if it were in possession of Greenland; and

Whereas possession of Greenland by a power hostile to the United States would constitute a distinct threat to the United States, and particularly to the populous area along the northeast seaboard of the United States; and

Whereas valuable trade could be developed between the United States and Greenland, if it were a possession of the United States: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the President of the United States is authorized and requested to enter into negotiations, in such manner as he may deem appropriate, with the Government of His Majesty, the King of Denmark and Iceland, for the acquisition by the United States of Greenland. Such negotiations shall be conducted with a view to the making of a treaty between the Government of the United States and the Government of His Majesty, the King of Denmark and Iceland, providing for the purchase by the United States of Greenland.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. President, I can see many possibilities for our country in the establishment of a line of the character indicated by the Senator. To illustrate, it will be to our advantage to develop a pilot personnel—men who will become acquainted with flying of this hazardous nature. It will be well for us to develop an expertness in flying in the Arctic region. We will be able to perfect the operation of plane service by improvement in de-icing devices and antifreezing appliances. I can see that the proposed route will be the shortest and most direct route, as that has been well established by Post and Gatty and Hughes and the Russian and German expeditions. There is considerable opportunity for America in research and experimental work in the Arctic. It will create new frontiers for our people, in the summer months, especially, opportunity for those in search of recreation, and those who would enjoy visiting these far-off lands.

It occurs to me that the Senator ought to recommend to the Civil Aeronautics Authority that an investigation be inaugurated which would reveal the feasibility of or practicability of the operation of such a line as he suggests. Our country ought to be in the lead always in the establishment of air lines in every zone and in every climate.

There is an element of national defense involved, and if we have a pilot personnel and an equipment to defend our country under any circumstances and in all climatic conditions, it will of course redound to our benefit.

No one knows what the future may have in store insofar as our economy is concerned; now that we may avail ourselves of this new method of transportation, it occurs to me that with a very small subsidy, and that only for a tempo-

rary period, we can well afford to establish the line as outlined by the distinguished Senator, even though it were operated at infrequent intervals, until experience in operation determined that we might increase this schedule.

At any rate, I am deeply interested, and the development of improved flying equipment and the development of a more expert pilot personnel, which has been encouraged in this country over a period of years, would in my judgment lend itself to the successful operation of the line the Senator has in mind. There are so many other related advantages that being on the ground first and having the right to land and to service the ships would be to the distinct advantage of the United States.

I fear that our delay will probably find other countries securing the rights which we might enjoy if we would do a little pioneering along the lines the Senator has just outlined. So I am hopeful that, as the result of this splendid effort, this deep study which the Senator has made of this very important subject, the agencies of Government concerned with the development of aviation will take cognizance of the opportunity, and that we will be in a position in the very near future to consider the beginning of a line which will circle the north country in accordance with the suggestions the Senator has left with us today.

WE MUST ACT BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE

Mr. LUNDEEN. I thank the able Senator from New York. I had some doubt in my mind as to whether anything would be accomplished by my remarks on a subject which is more or less uninteresting, perhaps; but since bringing the subject before the Senate has engaged the attention of the able Senator, who has given us a very constructive statement of his own views on this important subject, I am sure that some good will come as a result of the discussion today, because the Senator has very ably stated the exact situation and what may be accomplished in the future.

PAN AMERICAN RESEARCH

I do favor research. We have already engaged in some research, and we should engage in more. The Lindberghs crossed the ice cap twice. Pan American research men have made flights to this region and have stayed there for as long as a whole year at a time. The Pan American deserves great credit for its work in South America and the Caribbean, up and down the islands of the sea off our coast, and in Greenland. They have done great work there. When the Government failed us they forged ahead with constructive research, and they deserve credit.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. President, I am sure my distinguished colleague is making a contribution which will result in much good when this question is finally considered and disposed of, either through legislative enactment or administrative regulation.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, at this point I wish to include a condensed statement from *Flying Around the North Atlantic*, by Anne M. Lindbergh, published in the *National Geographic Magazine* for September 1934, with notes from the introduction to Anne's article by Charles A. Lindbergh. This is condensed into a rather brief article.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The article is as follows:

FLYING AROUND THE NORTH ATLANTIC

The main purpose of the flights around the North Atlantic in 1933 was to study air bases which could be used and also to make a study for conditions encountered between America and Europe; that is, climatic conditions and geographic conditions. The northernmost route was through Greenland and Iceland. The most practical commercial route between America and Europe would be Bermuda and the Azores, which is the southernmost route. The shortest distances between land make the most severe climatic conditions. Therefore, the advantage of the Greenland route from the standpoint of frequent bases and refueling facilities must be weighed against the extreme climate and the southern route discounted because of greater distances between land. The most difficult problem the Lindberghs encountered was to determine what to do if they should have an emergency landing on the Greenland ice cap. They were prepared to walk half-way across the ice cap if necessary. They took no parachutes with them on this flight. They felt parachutes were of no value over

the ocean or over Greenland because it would be impossible to live without the emergency equipment from the plane.

GREENLAND, THE WORLD'S LARGEST ISLAND

Greenland is known as the world's largest island. The Lindberghs discovered high ranges along the eastern coast, the maximum height being 12,300 feet. The mountains extend 100 miles inland below Gaaseland instead of 30 miles as shown on maps. Three hours from the coast of Greenland the mountains were first seen, mountains stretching as far as one could see as one approaches. The coast was bare and rocky, cut up by fiords and dotted with islands, and showed no signs of growth or vegetation. When they were very close, they saw something that appeared like green moss in the steep valleys. Godthaab, a little village located in one of these valleys, was found on a half-moon harbor. The Lindberghs were escorted into the harbor by kayaks. This little town seemed very prosperous and lively after stopping at the little town of Hebron, in Labrador. The inhabitants call themselves Greenlanders, not Eskimos. They appeared prosperous looking. The men hunt and fish for their livelihood. The women do much of the manual labor.

The Lindberghs landed in the outside harbor and taxied into the storm harbor beyond the town and dropped anchor. They were then towed into the town harbor by the Danish welcoming boat. The docks were jammed with people to greet them. Commander Dam, of the Danish Government, gave them much assistance during their flights in Greenland.

The frame houses in this little town were well built and freshly painted. Some of them had little fenced-in gardens. In all the little villages they visited the houses were all painted in vivid colors, bright red, blues, yellows. There was a store, warehouse, church, hospital, a large school with an equipped gymnasium among a few of the prominent buildings. Greenlanders themselves appeared healthy, gay, and prosperous looking. The Lindberghs saw few of the original style of Eskimo huts made of turf and stone bricks. They also saw the Greenlanders playing football in one of the little green valleys. The boys wore the hooded blouse, sealskin trousers, and soft sealskin boots.

The storm harbor of Godthaab was the first stop of the Lindberghs in Greenland, where in 1888 the Norwegian explorer, Fredtjof Nasen, completed the first crossing of the ice cap.

LINDBERGH EXPLORATIONS

Holsteinsborg was the second stop of the Lindberghs. Here again the houses were all painted in gay colors. The harbor of Holsteinsborg was shielded on the north by a long, bare mountain. In this little village is located the Government's halibut-canning factory. As the Lindberghs flew directly over the ice cap, the scene below them seemed unreal. The whole world looked like a gigantic white bowl. The temperature never went below 13° C. at an altitude of 13,000 feet. Dr. Lauge Koch, Danish explorer, made an aerial survey of the northeast coast of Greenland. He advised them to land at Ella Island. This flight from the west coast of Greenland to the east coast of Greenland across the great ice cap took them 7 hours.

Clavering Island was the northernmost point they touched. They found finer specimens of Eskimos on Clavering Island due to the lack of human habitation. This ice cap was not made for us but for another people and another age. Herds of muskox were seen. These animals looked something like a buffalo. The muskox is an almost extinct animal of the Ice Age.

The next stop was the harbor of Angmagssalik. In this harbor the water was full of ice bogs. However, the plane managed to land between them and taxied slowly into the tiny inner harbor. This little village was the only settlement they visited in eastern Greenland. The eastern coast was very much like the western coast of Greenland, only more primitive. They saw more native huts and everything was more isolated. They stated that grass and flowers grow in the mountainous region north of the Arctic Circle. They flew back across the ice cap to Godthaab and down the coast to Julianehaas. Julianehaas is the southernmost and largest colony. It appeared to be the most prosperous and attractive. They even had a little fountain playing in a small square in the center of the village. This is the only place in Greenland where fresh milk was available.

Godthaab, the first colony they visited, created their first impression of Greenland. Holsteinsborg was their favorite, for they stayed there the longest. Julianehaas seemed the gayest. They refer to Dr. Knud Rasmussen's books on Greenland.

They left Greenland with the impression that it was the country gigantic and untamed which dominated life and that man was a minor character who had adapted himself to the rigors of this life, whereas the people in Iceland had conquered the elements and the land.

Dr. Lauge Koch also is a Danish authority on the geology of Greenland.

Angmagssalik was the Lindberghs' last port. In their memory stand out the bright-colored houses, mountain fiords, a green gully, and patches of bluebells half way up the hills.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Further I wish to introduce a short statement from A Stone Age Hostess Entertains.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[From A Stone Age Hostess Entertains]

Visited the most northerly Eskimo dwelling in all eastern Greenland. These people receive mail once a year. The word pretty or beautiful could be used in describing the landscape of the Greenland coast. This writer compares Greenland's mountains to the Andes or the Persian Zagros. He compares our civilized life—economic torment, debts, armaments, tariffs, and so forth, to the present day hospitality of the stone-age woman of Greenland. This article deals more with a few personal experiences in Greenland.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I have asked the Congressional Library to give me a brief list of references on Greenland, because I discovered in making the study that it was very difficult to find any source material. If one asked for something on Greenland one would be met with a blank look. We would have to search about for pamphlets and literature and articles on Greenland.

Mr. President, I do not relish the idea of the people of other countries knowing more about North American islands than we do ourselves. I think we should take note of the Dutch possessions that I spoke of the other day, and take note of Greenland, now in possession of Denmark. Let us not forget in that connection that we faced the same situation in 1916 when we took over the Virgin Islands.

The question was asked, "What do we want with the Virgin Islands—a lot of sandbars down in the West Indies?" But now we have discovered that they are valuable and of strategic importance. We are spending hundreds of millions of dollars improving Puerto Rico, building fortifications, and improving our defenses. I say here today that Greenland is a vital place of national defense, and it is an important base for aviation.

I ask to have a brief list of references on Greenland placed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The list referred to is as follows:

REFERENCES ON GREENLAND

- Cores, L.: Young Greenland Goes to School. Travel, February 1936, pp. 32-33.
- Gowland, G.: Filming Icebergs in Greenland. Travel, June 1934, pp. 24-27.
- Greenland for Emigration. Christian Science Monitor Magazine, February 18, 1939, p. 14.
- Herklots, H. G. G.: Voyage to Elsinore. Queen's Quarterly, May 1933, pp. 282-88.
- Hertzburg, S.: Greenland Declared Danish. Current History, June 1933, pp. 372-373.
- Lindbergh, Anne Morrow: Flying Around the North Atlantic. National Geographic Magazine, September 1934, pp. 259-337.
- Norlie, O. M.: Hans Egede, Missionary to Greenland. Missionary Review, July 1937, pp. 375-377.
- Orcutt, R.: Stone Age Hostess Entertains. Travel, July 1933, pp. 16-20.
- Pearry, M. A.: Greenland's Icy Mountains. Literary Digest, April 1, 1933, pp. 20-22.
- Stefanasson, Vilhjalmur: The American Far North. Foreign Affairs, April 1939, pp. 508-523.
- Stefanasson, Vilhjalmur: Lost 9,000. Canadian Magazine, January 1939.
- Thompson, R.: Dispute Over Greenland. Current History, August 1932, pp. 613-615.
- Thompson, R.: Greenland's Controversy. Current History, September 1932, p. 748.
- Canadian, January 1939, Canadian Magazines Ltd. Norseland Argonauts, by D. M. LeBourdais, p. 9.
- Norway in Arcticum—Baron, Dr. Lage V. Stael-Holstein, member Association of the International Diplomatic Academy, Levin & Munksgaard, publishers, p. 27. Brothers of the Northlands, by Rockwell Kent.
- The World Almanac—1938. Publishers, New York World-Telegram.

ARCTIC ROUTES NEED STUDY

Mr. LUNDEEN. I have before me a map of Greenland issued by the Danish Government. I should be very pleased if Senators would examine it.

I also refer Senators to the article on Greenland in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, which is quite complete.

Then I have here a magazine, Le Greenland, issued in Copenhagen, in 1935, by A. Bertelsen and K. Bure giving considerable detailed information with respect to Greenland.

The illustrations are very complete. I ask Senators to give attention to this magazine, which may be found in the Congressional Library.

Mr. President, I know that the time of the Senate should be devoted to the most important subjects before the American people, and I know when we engage in these things which are of more or less detailed statistical study that we are dealing with information that does not perhaps interest us so much as a battle over certain domestic problems which are immediately before us. I have listened to the proceedings had in the Senate Chamber in connection with various appropriation bills. Five hundred and nine million dollars was appropriated for the Army. I supported that appropriation; I thought that was all; but no, we are now confronted with another \$300,000,000 for the Army. I shall listen with interest to the debate with respect to that matter.

BILLIONS FOR WAR

Last year several hundred million dollars were appropriated for the Navy. That was the largest appropriation for the Navy we had ever had. I supported it. But within a week we were asked to appropriate \$1,000,000,000 more for the Navy. It seems to me we could well ask for a few million dollars with which to acquire some of these outlying bases which then would be ours permanently, whereas the vessels which we build are soon outdated and outmoded. Also, in my mind, their value has greatly decreased since the coming of aviation, and some experts doubt whether they are of any use as against the great bombers of the next war with their bombs weighing as much as a ton each.

Nevertheless, Mr. President, we want to be ready in every field. To me there can be nothing more important than the outlying bases on the Atlantic coast, Greenland, Bermuda, the British and French West Indies, and the Dutch possessions, which run like a bow string from the coast of South America, where one can stand on Trinidad and see that continent and then they string along up to the tip of Florida. If Senators will look at the map of the regions where Bermuda is located, they will find that from that point the great population and industrial centers on the Atlantic coast can easily be reached within 2 or 3 hours with the fastest planes. We must give our serious attention to this important problem of outlying bases and the outlying islands along our Atlantic coast.

EVENTUALLY—WHY NOT NOW?

Mr. President, I am always engaged in long-distance battles, and I shall be happy if I can add a little something toward arousing interest in this subject, even though what we seek to do may not be done this year, or next year, or within the next 5 or 10 years. But I warn the Senate that 5 or 10 years from now may be too late. We should speed up our serious consideration of outlying bases.

There seems to be much fear of foreign powers. I do not share all those fears. I may be wrong in that respect. Let us acquire these bases before any foreign powers move in and take them over.

I have read in reliable magazines and publications that the frontier of Holland is unfortified and that Germany may move in any day and take over Holland. Very well, who will possess the Dutch West Indies then? I do not look for any such advance by this foreign power. Perhaps it may happen. If it does they will gain possession first and we will be out. Let us negotiate for the Dutch West Indies now; let us negotiate for Greenland today; and let us have these possessions under the American flag.

I thank the Senate.

SHIPOWNERS' LIABILITY CONVENTION, AND SO FORTH

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MEAD in the chair) laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

LXXXIV—456

To the Congress of the United States of America:

To fulfill the obligations of this Government under the Shipowners' Liability (Sick and Injured Seamen) Convention, 1936, I commend to the favorable consideration of the Congress the enclosed report from the Secretary of State and the accompanying draft bill to implement the convention. After careful consideration of the questions involved this proposed bill was prepared by an interdepartmental committee. Legislation should be enacted at this session of Congress, as the convention will become effective for the United States on October 29, 1939.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, June 15, 1939.

[Enclosures: Report of Secretary of State, with enclosures as listed.]

AGREEMENT TO EXTEND INTERSTATE COMPACT TO CONSERVE OIL AND GAS

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith a report of the Secretary of State enclosing a certified copy of An Agreement to Extend the Interstate Compact to Conserve Oil and Gas, executed as of April 5, 1939, by the Governors of the States of Oklahoma, New Mexico, Kansas, Colorado, Texas, and Michigan, which has been deposited in the archives of the Department of State in accordance with the provision contained therein. The agreement refers to the interstate compact to conserve oil and gas executed at Dallas, Tex., on February 16, 1935, which received the consent of the Congress in Public Resolution No. 64, Seventy-fourth Congress, approved August 27, 1935 (49 Stat. 939). As that compact would have expired on September 1, 1937, an agreement extending its provisions for 2 years was executed as of May 10, 1937, by the Governors of the States of Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, New Mexico, and Colorado, and received the consent of Congress in Public Resolution No. 57, Seventy-fifth Congress, approved August 10, 1937 (50 Stat. 617). As the above-mentioned compact, in accordance with the extension agreement of May 10, 1937, will expire on September 1, 1939, the present agreement provides that the original compact shall continue in force for 2 years from that date. In a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior dated June 8, 1939, enclosed with the report of the Secretary of State, the opinion is expressed that suitable legislation should be enacted by the Congress giving its consent to the extension to September 1, 1941, of the Interstate Compact to Conserve Oil and Gas.

Accordingly I hope that Congress will enact legislation giving its consent to the agreement executed as of April 5, 1939, as required by article I, section 10, of the Constitution of the United States.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, June 15, 1939.

[Enclosure: Report of the Secretary of State, dated June 14, 1939, with enclosures.]

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

S. 1886. An act to extend to June 16, 1942, the period within which certain loans to executive officers of member banks of the Federal Reserve System may be renewed or extended; and

H. R. 6109. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Niagara River at or near the city of Niagara Falls, N. Y.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MEAD in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

EXECUTIVE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the 13th instant,

Mr. KING, on June 14, 1939, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of James W. Morris, of Florida, to be an associate justice of the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia (position created by the act of May 1, 1938).

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters.

Mr. PITTMAN, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported favorably the following nominations:

Claude G. Bowers, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Chile;

Edwin C. Wilson, of Florida, now a Foreign Service officer of class 1 and counselor of embassy at Paris, France, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Uruguay; and

Douglas Jenkins, of South Carolina, now a Foreign Service officer of class 1 and consul general at London, England, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Bolivia.

Mr. PITTMAN, also from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported favorably Executive K, Seventy-fifth Congress, first session, being an international convention for the unification of certain rules to govern the liability of vessels when collisions occur between them, and a protocol thereto, both signed at Brussels on September 23, 1910, with a reservation, and he submitted a report (Ex. Rept. No. 4) thereon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reports will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will proceed to state the nominations on the calendar.

THE JUDICIARY

The legislative clerk read the nomination of James W. Morris, of Florida, to be an associate justice of the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask unanimous consent that the President be notified of that confirmation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

POSTMASTER—NOMINATION REJECTED

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Howard F. Bradway to be postmaster at Somers Point, N. J., which had been reported from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads adversely.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to this nomination?

The nomination was rejected.

POSTMASTERS' NOMINATIONS CONFIRMED

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the nominations of the postmasters reported favorably be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are confirmed en bloc.

That completes the calendar.

MARY L. MALONE—NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, on Tuesday last the Senate confirmed the nomination of Mrs. Mary L. Malone to be postmaster at Dothan, Ala. I ask unanimous consent that the President be notified forthwith of the confirmation of that nomination.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Alabama? The Chair hears none, and the President will be notified.

RECESS TO MONDAY

Mr. BARKLEY. As in legislative session, under the previous order, I move that the Senate now stand in recess.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 47 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess, the recess being, under the order previously entered, until Monday, June 19, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 15, 1939

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS

James L. Travers, of Duluth, Minn., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 36, with headquarters at Duluth, Minn. (Reappointment.)

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY

Rear Admiral Harold R. Stark to be Chief of Naval Operations in the Department of the Navy, with the rank of admiral, for a term of 4 years, from the 1st day of August 1939.

Commander Wadleigh Capehart to be a captain in the Navy, to rank from the 13th day of February 1939.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Miles P. Duval, April 1, 1939.

Daniel M. McGurl, May 1, 1939.

Giles E. Short, June 1, 1939.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

John P. Cromwell, February 13, 1939.

Forrest Close, February 13, 1939.

Preston V. Mercer, June 1, 1939.

Robert Goldthwaite, June 1, 1939.

Jack B. Williams, June 1, 1939.

Wilkie H. Brereton, June 1, 1939.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names to correct the date of rank as previously nominated and confirmed:

William M. Cole, July 1, 1938.

Hallsted L. Hopping, August 1, 1938.

Maurice M. Bradley, August 1, 1938.

Lester K. Rice, August 1, 1938.

Stephen G. Barchet, August 1, 1938.

William P. Tammany, August 1, 1938.

Shirley Y. Cutler, August 1, 1938.

Rae E. Arison, August 1, 1938.

Bob O. Mathews, August 1, 1938.

Ephraim R. McLean, Jr., August 1, 1938.

Walter V. R. Vieweg, August 1, 1938.

Richard F. Stout, August 1, 1938.

Willford M. Hyman, August 1, 1938.

Bernard L. Austin, August 1, 1938.

Joseph M. P. Wright, August 1, 1938.

John N. Opie, 3d, October 1, 1938.

Aurelius B. Vosseller, October 1, 1938.

Lt. Clifford A. Fines to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy, to rank from the 1st day of July 1938, to correct the date of rank as previously nominated.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be assistant naval constructors in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade) to rank from the 6th day of June 1938:

Howard Z. Senif
William F. Petrovic

The following-named ensigns to be assistant naval constructors in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, to rank from the 4th day of June 1936:

James A. Brown James H. Terry, Jr.
Dale F. Pinkerton John B. Rawlings
Frederic A. Chenault Henry A. Arnold

Lt. (Jr. Gr.) Clement E. Langlois to be an assistant civil engineer in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade), to rank from the 6th day of June 1938.

The following-named ensigns to be assistant civil engineers in the Navy, with the rank of ensign, to rank from the 4th day of June 1936:

James A. Coddington
Kenneth C. Lovell

Lt. Comdr. Staley H. Gambrill to be a commander in the Navy, to rank from the 1st day of July 1938.

The following lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Albert Handly, August 1, 1938.
Frank W. MacDonald, February 13, 1939.
Warren W. Harvey, June 1, 1939.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names, to correct the date of rank as previously nominated and confirmed:

Edward W. Rawlins, July 1, 1938.
Gordon M. Stoddard, October 1, 1938.
Willis E. Cleaves, January 1, 1939.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 15, 1939

DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

James W. Morris to be an associate justice of the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia.

POSTMASTERS

ARKANSAS

Eva C. Teague, Manila.

KENTUCKY

Joe R. Richardson, Glasgow.
William E. Crutcher, Morehead.
Jones Ashby, Slaughters.

LOUISIANA

Ruby M. Ivey, Benton.
Curry M. Elliott, Bunkie.
Stephen Bellard, Church Point.
Theophilus Lemoine, Cottonport.
Aaron D. Williams, Gibsland.
Auburtin H. Barre, Mooringsport.
Ada K. Allums, Plain Dealing.

MASSACHUSETTS

Celia R. St. John, Cohasset.
John D. Comins, Deerfield.
Donald J. Newton, Montague.

MICHIGAN

Lea M. Griffith, Flat Rock.
Jennie O. Way, Rapid City.
Donald E. Howell, Wayne.

MONTANA

Helen Irene Manning, Hysham.
Nels P. Miller, Medicine Lake.

OKLAHOMA

Earl A. Brown, Ardmore.

TENNESSEE

Henry S. Dupree, Brownsville.
Fred C. Lindsay, Greeneville.
Thomas G. Hughes, Jackson.
William F. Earthman, Murfreesboro.

REJECTION

Executive nomination rejected by the Senate June 15, 1939

POSTMASTER

NEW JERSEY

Howard F. Bradway to be postmaster at Somers Point, in the State of New Jersey.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1939

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Great art Thou, O Lord, and greatly to be praised; great is Thy power, and of Thy wisdom there is no end. O Living Light of Life, make real the presence of Thy guidance. Bless us with Thy helping hand and with the deliverance of Thy unfailing love. Unto Thy fatherly care do we commend our President, our beloved Speaker, and the Members, the officers, and employees of the Congress, with all their hearthstones. Our Father, the giver of all our days, strengthen the bonds of unity between all our citizens. Bless all mankind and Thy children forever. Oh, let release come, that the world may no longer dig graves of hate and garnish the lands with human blood. In the name of the Saviour and the Redeemer. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

SUNDRY MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on the following dates the President approved and signed joint resolutions and bills of the House of the following titles:

On June 7, 1939:

H. J. Res. 171. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States to accept on behalf of the United States a conveyance of certain lands on Government Island from the city of Alameda, Calif., and for other purposes;

H. R. 2259. An act for the relief of Stanley Mercuri; and

H. R. 5136. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to provide books for the adult blind," approved March 3, 1931.

On June 13, 1939:

H. J. Res. 286. Joint resolution to provide for the lending to the Virginia Military Institute of the equestrian portrait of Gen. Winfield Scott now stored in the Capitol;

H. J. Res. 322. Joint resolution making an additional appropriation for the control of outbreaks of insect pests; and

H. R. 5765. An act to authorize commissioning aviation cadets in the Naval and Marine Corps Reserves upon completion of training, and for other purposes.

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMAS]?

There was no objection.

[Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix.]

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CODE

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEOGH]?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I should like, on behalf of the Committee on Revision of the Laws, to announce that Cumulative Supplement IV of the District of Columbia Code is now ready for distribution among the Members of the House and others requiring or desiring it.

In an effort to increase the usefulness of the supplement the committee has adopted a somewhat different procedure from that heretofore employed in setting forth the changes in the law enacted at the last session. All new matter is printed in italics and, wherever practicable, deleted portions are shown in brackets, and appropriate footnotes are added. It is hoped in this manner to show the legislative development of the sections of the code.

The committee would appreciate having the reactions of the Members to this treatment of amendments and new matter.

There have been several reclassifications of sections made. Appropriate notations, of course, have been made showing all transfers.

In a further attempt to be of service to the Members the Committee on Revision of the Laws is maintaining a current classification of laws enacted during the present session showing where these laws will be found in Cumulative Supplements V of the Code of Laws of the United States and the District of Columbia Code, respectively.

Under this system, it is expected that the committee will be in a position to advise the House as to the classification, by title and section in the codes, of the laws enacted during the present session. Any inquiries respecting such classification may be addressed to the Committee on the Revision of the Laws.

The committee will welcome from the Members of the House and the bench and bar any suggestions or criticism tending to improve the codes and the classification of the law therein.

May the committee remind the Members of the House and all others interested that the official Code of Laws of the United States (1934) edition may be purchased for \$6 each, the supplements thereto at \$2 each, the District of Columbia Code (1929) edition at \$3.50 each, and the supplements thereto at \$1.25 each, through the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office?

TOLL ROADS AND FREE ROADS

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, from the Committee on Printing I report (H. Rept. 844) back, favorably with amendments, a privileged resolution (S. Con. Res. No. 19) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Senate Concurrent Resolution 19

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That 16,000 additional copies of House Document No. 272, entitled "Message From the President of the United States Transmitting a Report of the Bureau of Public Roads on the Feasibility of a System of Transcontinental Toll Roads and a Master Plan for Free Highway Development" be printed for the use of the Senate document room.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 2, after the word "That," insert "there be printed."

Page 1, line 7, strike out the words "be printed for the use of the Senate document room" and insert "of which 5,000 copies shall be for the use of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads; 1,000 copies for the Senate document room; 9,000 copies for the use of the House Committee on Roads; and 1,000 copies for the House document room."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The Senate concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include copy of an address I delivered in Missouri on June 7.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. NELSON]?

There was no objection.

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute and to revise and extend my own remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN]?

There was no objection.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, for the first time in this House I am asking to extend my remarks and place an editorial in the RECORD.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that, following the statement of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMAS], I may extend my remarks in the RECORD by having printed therein an editorial entitled "Librarian MacLeish," from the Boston Herald, which is highly complimentary to Mr. MacLeish, and an editorial from the Boston Globe entitled "Notable Choice," which is also highly complimentary to Mr. MacLeish.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

BROADCAST BY MR. FISH

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, at 9:45 eastern standard time tonight, over the Columbia Broadcasting network, the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH] will give his reasons for opposing the so-called Neutrality Act. Of course the bill is anything but a neutrality bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SHAFER of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include therein an explanation of a bill I introduced today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a short editorial from the Saturday Evening Post.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein two brief editorials.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

NIAGARA ELECTRIC POWER DEVELOPMENT

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. PIERCE of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I am today putting in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my speech comparing Niagara electric power development on Canadian and American sides and drawing a lesson for the guidance of the electric power development on the Columbia River at Bonneville. This speech has required weeks of research and careful study. It has been checked and rechecked by experts. It contains much valuable information for anyone interested in electric development. The private power development at Niagara on the American side has netted the private investors, in dividends and assets, \$245,000,000 on an original investment of \$3,100,000 with no additional capital investment; profits to private investors have been 79 to 1 within 40 years. There has been no reduction

in electric rates on the American side and very little paid in taxes. In contrast, on the Canadian side, under public development, the rates are about one-half those on the American side and the original investment debt has been nearly paid from profits.

I now ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks for insertion in the Appendix.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 15 seconds.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, the attention of the House is called to the fact that today, yesterday, and during the last week more than a thousand men over in Milwaukee, Wis., are not permitted to work because one of the C. I. O. affiliates will not let them work until they have joined that union and paid tribute to Lewis.

What is the use in appropriating money to create jobs when Lewis and his agents will not permit men to work when jobs are available?

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 1888) entitled "An act to extend to June 16, 1942, the period within which certain loans to executive officers of member banks of the Federal Reserve System may be renewed or extended."

The message also announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1796) entitled "An act to amend the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. SMITH, Mr. WHEELER, Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma, Mr. NORRIS, and Mr. McNARY to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5762) entitled "An act to provide for temporary postponement of the operations of certain provisions of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act."

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a concurrent resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. Con. Res. 21. Concurrent resolution accepting the statue of Will Rogers by the State of Oklahoma.

WORK RELIEF AND PUBLIC WORKS APPROPRIATION BILL, 1939

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 326) making appropriations for work relief, relief, and to increase employment by providing loans and grants for public-works projects for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of House Joint Resolution 326, with Mr. McCORMACK in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH].

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, although I am gratified to read in the report of the Committee on Appropriations the following statement—

The committee has the utmost sympathy with the aims of the Works Progress Administration program and has the highest praise

for many of its accomplishments both in the matter of furnishing employment in critical times to those who otherwise would have suffered destitution and want without it and for the many valuable contributions that have been made to the Nation and to States and local communities through useful public projects—

It is surprising to me, in the face of this statement, that the committee then reports into the House a joint resolution which in every conceivable way is worded and constructed to hamper, hamstring, and in many ways destroy the entire W. P. A. set-up. If the committee means what it says about the accomplishments of the W. P. A. they should now be the first to eliminate from this bill the many objectionable features which are incorporated in this bill.

For instance, the limitation of \$25,000 on building projects means that these kind of endeavors will be entirely eliminated in every large and even medium-sized city in the country. In a small rural community this limitation might be all right, but in the large centers no building of any value or benefit to the entire community could be erected nor could any reasonable number of men be employed at the prevailing wages. Consequently this provision nullifies and destroys the hopes of any projects of value in the cities, in face of the committee's statements that they want only useful and valuable projects engaged upon. By such provision the committee defeats its own avowed purpose and discriminates against every city in the country with numerous unemployed, whose only hope for W. P. A. work is on building projects. If that is the aim of the committee, they are succeeding; but I shall endeavor, as will many others who desire to be fair to the cities as well as to the rural areas, to eliminate this unfair provision to save thousands from being forced back on direct relief.

At this point I feel it incumbent upon me to insert herewith a telegram just received by me from Mayor Edward J. Kelly, of Chicago, which graphically portrays the plight of the cities should this unfair limitation be kept in the bill:

It has been reported that the House appropriations subcommittee considering Federal W. P. A. appropriations for the fiscal year July 1 has voted to make ineligible all construction projects costing over \$25,000 after July 1. Speaking for Chicago, I feel certain, if this action is sustained, it simply means the collapse of the works program. With one or two exceptions, each of the 100 or more construction projects in Chicago costs far in excess of \$25,000. Chicago's area embraces some 212 square miles, and construction projects must, of necessity be city-wide in character to afford equality of benefits and to facilitate work opportunities for the unemployed. Any limitation expenditure on construction projects will defeat the very intent and purpose of our work-relief program. I submit this for your earnest consideration and shall appreciate your helpfulness in defeating the proposed plan of limiting W. P. A. appropriations.

I note in the remarks of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] that special attention has been given by the committee to the Federal Theater Project. I can hardly believe that the committee's program consisted in picking on petty things first in order to create prejudice in the minds of Congress so that the entire W. P. A. program may be hampered and obstructed. Out of over two and a half million people employed on W. P. A. less than 9,000 are in the theater projects. This is but a fraction of 1 percent of all receiving W. P. A. aid. To listen to the gentleman from Virginia and a few others, one would be almost compelled to believe that the entire W. P. A. program hinged on the success or failure of the theater projects. A small percentage of people whom these projects have helped get just as hungry and need employment just as much as any other unemployed persons. To single out these people to eliminate from all aid or work is small, petty, and mean. Because a few "reds" have been employed on this theater project, some of the people who never want to practice economy unless they practice it on the poor, the weak, and the defenseless, have tried to insinuate that the whole W. P. A. set-up is communistically influenced. This, of course, is too ridiculous to dignify by comment. Yet the tactics of those who desire to discredit the Democratic administration are clearly using these methods to prejudice Congress and the public, in order to pass this objectionable bill.

As the editorial which I include in my remarks points out in one place, while critics of the Federal Theater Project were given ample opportunity to blacken and condemn this minor portion of the relief program, officials and responsible persons connected with the administration of the project were given no opportunity to reply to the unfair criticisms and statements.

The New York Times, however, hardly a red or radical newspaper even in the wildest imagining of the professional political "red chaser," says of the Federal Theater Project in an article published May 28, 1939:

Many things about the Federal theater are hard to defend. Being the most conspicuous of the W. P. A. arts projects, it is the one Congress enjoys worrying most. Art seems like boondoggling to a Congressman who is looking for a club with which to belabor the Administration, and there is always something in the Federal theater that can be blown up into a scandal. But for socially useful achievement it would be hard among the relief projects to beat the Federal theater, which has brought art and ideas within the range of millions of people all over the country and proved that the potential theater audience is inexhaustible.

When the Federal theater's *Swing Mikado* opened at \$1.10 top in the enormous New York Theater it was sold out for 3 weeks in advance and became an enormous hit. More than 76,000 people saw the *Swing Mikado* during the 62 performances under Federal theater management, and most people believe that it could have run forever. When "private enterprise" succeeded in taking it over as the result of a burst of moral indignation from Congress, and promptly raised the box office tariff to \$2.20, it failed after 24 performances.

Although the Federal theater is far from perfect, it has kept an average of 10,000 people employed on work that has helped to lift the dead weight from the lives of millions of Americans. It has been the best friend the theater as an institution has ever had in this country. It has brought the theater and people together realistically. In short, it deserves to be rescued from partisan politics which, on the one hand, are creeping into its administration, and, on the other, are threatening to put it out of business.

Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, who has worked untiringly in connection with the Theater Project, has been instrumental in bringing to millions of Americans their first glimpse of the drama, which heretofore was reserved solely for the stuffed shirts and silk hats of the Union League and millionaires' clubs who could afford to pay \$4.40 per seat to find out what a stage play was like. Yet, in spite of the restrictions, criticisms, and moral indignation of political demagogues, the theater project has returned to the Treasury more than \$300,000 in face of the fact that most productions were free and all the others were able to be seen at prices far below regular theatrical tariffs. *Fortune* magazine, another publication that could not possibly be affiliated with the "red network" that the defenders of special privilege are trying to wrap around W. P. A. and all its officials, states in an article:

Judged on public response alone, therefore, the Government's adventure in the promotion of the arts would have to be rated successful.

This article, profusely illustrated and appearing in the May 1937 issue of *Fortune*, says in connection with the theater project:

More spectacularly successful than either the painters project or the music project or the writers project is the theater project. From any point of view save that of the old-line boxoffice critics to whom nothing is theater unless it has Broadway stars and Broadway varnish, the Federal theater project is a roaring success. Approximately 16,000,000 people had seen its productions down to midseason this year. One of its plays, *It Can't Happen Here*, opened simultaneously on 21 stages in 18 cities, played to a total of 275,000 people in the first 4 months, and took in over the same period \$80,000 at an average admission price of 30 cents. Another, the *Negro Macbeth*, played for 144 performances, was seen by 120,000 people, grossed \$40,000, and broke a 9-year attendance record (established by Katharine Cornell) in Bridgeport, Conn. Altogether \$659,000 had been taken in by all W. P. A. theater units down to last March 15, an amazing figure considering that 87 percent of all Federal theater admissions are free and that the average price for the remaining 13 percent is 15 cents per person. Wages incidentally are the same for all actors—\$23.86 a week in New York. There are no stars. Administrators, who work much longer hours than actors, are paid up to \$175 or \$200 a month. Stage hands get \$103.46 a month in New York but work only half a month to bring their hourly earnings up to the "prevailing wage" as fixed by their union.

Box-office figures, however, tell only half the story. Artistic success was definitely achieved in the production of T. S. Eliot's

Murder in the Cathedral. The *Negro Macbeth* was as well received by the critics as by the audiences. Doctor Faustus has admirers as intelligent and as devoted as any collected by the various Shakespearean revivals of the last New York season. And the *Living Newspaper*, applying to the stage the technique developed in the air and on the screen by the March of Time, has created as much excitement among playwrights as among Republicans who see its Triple A Plowed Under and its Power as Government-subsidized propaganda. Federal theater productions lack the slippery virtuosity of Broadway. They present no prima donnas (though the Negro actress Edna Thomas turned in an extraordinary performance as Lady Macbeth). But they have very generally a sincerity and direct dramatic force which the overlacquered Broadway shows equally generally lack. The directors and producers include people of the discrimination and ability of Virgil Geddes, Edward Goodman, John Houseman, Alfred Kreymborg, James Light, Morris Watson, and Orson Welles. And the total accomplishment to date is definitely a credit to them and to their actors.

New York is, of course, the capital of the Federal theater project, as it is the capital of American theater. But the activities of the project are not limited to the district south of Fifty-third Street and west of Sixth Avenue. Portable theaters go out on trucks through the city parks in New York City, where audiences of as many as 30,000 people will stand in the open air to watch them. Marionette shows were seen by 5,000,000 United States school children in a year. A New York circus has run for a year and a half without stopping—summers under canvas, winters in armories and coliseums. And beyond New York the road companies tour and the local theaters play. There are 150 resident acting companies in 27 States in addition to New York. Companies have gone into the back country behind Portland and Seattle where stage plays had never been seen before. They have gone up into the hay valleys in northern New England. They have worked through the high plains towns in Nebraska and the Dakotas. They have penetrated the Black Ankle Belt of the Carolinas and the deep South where no trouper had been seen time out of mind. And in all these regions their coming has worked marvels. The mayor of Valley, Nebr., a town of 800 inhabitants and 1,000 theatergoers, wrote Mrs. Flanagan to ask if the W. P. A. cast of *The Dictator* couldn't settle down and live there permanently. And in the deep South, following W. P. A. tours, a community drama unit was set up to produce plays without script in order to give range to the natural dramatic instincts of people who had now seen a stage play for the first time in their lives.

I can appreciate why the Republicans are gleefully preparing to stab the Democratic W. P. A. program in the back. In the first place, by destroying the morale of the millions of unemployed, by depriving them of their meager benefits, and trying to force them back to the "Hoover, hell, and hard times" conditions they experienced under Republican rule, they are playing Republican politics with human misery. Of course, these reactionary Republicans feel that in their despair and distress the unemployed and underprivileged people will turn to the Republican Party in 1940 because President Roosevelt and the Democratic administration were unable to help them. These tactics are typical of the Republican strategy of "make 'em suffer and they'll blame it on the Democratic administration." Why Democrats, however, should be so misguided as to play this Republican game at the expense of the unemployed and suffering I cannot understand. Why Democrats should resort to petty, peevish, political penny saving on the poor, and pick out a few isolated incidents such as one project in the great city of New York and another one in the great city of Chicago, where thousands are unemployed and millions have been spent without graft or corruption, is also surprising. If it is the purpose of some of these gentlemen to unfairly discredit, by insinuation, the entire W. P. A. program through the use of a few examples which even in themselves are not more than mistaken judgment, then they are accomplishing their purpose.

If W. P. A. is to be prevented from becoming a ghastly and demoralizing joke, if all the good it has accomplished is not to be destroyed overnight, then at least half a dozen of these restricting and destructive provisions must be eliminated from this bill. Even the press of the Nation is criticizing in no unmistakable terms the conduct of the subcommittee in producing such a travesty on legislation designed for relief as this bill represents. The *Philadelphia Record*, in this morning's issue, makes the following comment:

THEY WOULD DESTROY W. P. A.

If the House Appropriations Subcommittee had deliberately set out to make a ghastly joke of W. P. A., it could not have succeeded better than by its "2 months' furlough" plan.

Under that precious scheme, all W. P. A. workers who have been on the rolls for 18 months or more will have to quit on October 1 to spend 60 days looking for private jobs.

If they fail to get private employment during the 60 days they will then be considered for reinstatement.

This perfectly dreadful notion neatly defeats the entire purpose of W. P. A. at one shot.

That purpose is to maintain the morale of the jobless.

It was with that purpose in mind that our national debate on relief was resolved in favor of the more expensive W. P. A. instead of the cheaper dole.

Yet the subcommittee, by this piece of legislative "schrecklichkeit," throws that purpose out the window.

Instead of maintaining morale, it destroys morale. Instead of maintaining the consumer-confidence of the W. P. A. workers, so that they will spend their wages and help business, it destroys their consumer confidence, makes it mandatory for them to hoard every penny of their small resources, for on their \$50-\$60 per month they can barely get by, can save but little.

Fright is instilled not only in the 2,000,000 W. P. A. workers and their 6,000,000 dependents, but in the entire army of the unemployed, to whom W. P. A. has been almost the sole anchor to windward.

Going further, this proposal will frighten millions of employed persons in the lower brackets who have jobs, and who have had the comforting feeling that W. P. A. would be there should the jobs vanish. Instead they see W. P. A. sending out a horde of persons to compete for these jobs at any wage.

The subcommittee, by its insensitivity to these feelings of the people, has ingeniously figured out a way to vitiate the beneficial effect of W. P. A. on business and the worker while saving comparatively little of the total cost.

Every one of the hit-or-miss debates on W. P. A., all those uninformed wranglings over whether to cut a billion or add a billion, has had this effect of creating fear and destroying morale. Even the President has been guilty of ignoring the profound psychological shock of constant shifts in W. P. A. policy. But nothing previously offered matches the present idea.

Certainly there are some lazy and unworthy persons on W. P. A. (the President himself put the figure as high as 5 percent in his speech to the retailers). But one reason for that lies in W. P. A.'s own rigid, inflexible rules.

Those rules make it so shockingly hard for a worker to get back on W. P. A., should he leave, that they destroy the incentive to take a private job which might prove temporary.

Because the committee has approached a big problem, the problem of relief, in a petty spirit, it has produced this piece of cruelty. The proposal reflects the peevish intellectual climate of the committee chambers, in such marked contrast with the broadly intelligent and informed approach under which the House, just the other day, made far-reaching improvements in social security by the startling vote of 361 to 2. The subcommittee was not thinking about relief at all. It was thinking about Reds, about politics, about that man in the White House.

The result is a plan which can only be called totalitarian. It corresponds to Hitler's order that all the inhabitants of Kladno, in Bohemia, pay a fine, stay in their houses, close their schools, because one German policeman was shot.

More than 2,000,000 Americans are to be sent on a hungry, burlesque job hunt, because the committee is out to embarrass the New Deal and to "get" the 30,000 or so members of the Workers Alliance.

The Federal theater project will be abolished altogether, because a couple of its workers testified there was "red" influence in the project. But the committee never deigned to summon the heads of the project to testify in rebuttal.

The Federal arts projects will go, though they have been a spectacular cultural success, bringing art to the people and the people to art, for the first time in our history.

Millions of Americans will be brought face to face with an artificial crisis.

Business will lose a large volume of trade as the fearful millions decline to spend.

All this is done in the name of "businesslike government" and "economy."

No language of mine could express the truth about this resolution more forcefully than the editorial writer who composed the foregoing.

It is significant that those who are most vigorously assisting the Republican high command to practice economy upon the weakest and most destitute of our citizens come from sections where unemployment is the lowest and from States that contribute the least to the Treasury of the United States in income taxes. New York, Pennsylvania, and my own State of Illinois paid into the Federal Treasury in 1938 more than the States of Alabama, Colorado, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia combined. Because of the industrial development of these three great States the largest numbers of unemployed are located in these areas. It sounds a little hypocritical for gentlemen from rural districts whose States receive far more

in Federal aid than they pay into the Treasury to be so solicitous in endeavoring to stop us from providing some of our own money to take care of the destitute in our communities.

It might be well at this point to bring to the attention of the Members of Congress just what the money is that provides in part for W. P. A. relief, and where it comes from, so I include herewith a partial list of Federal-income receipts, and grants, payments, and expenditures in some of the States.

	Total income tax, 1938	Grants, payments, and expenditures, by United States
Alabama.....	\$9,276,728.09	\$55,199,373
Colorado.....	17,495,864.05	59,570,721
Georgia.....	18,344,402.03	59,863,659
Illinois.....	233,563,508.87	238,094,287
Mississippi.....	3,607,578.13	60,602,083
New York.....	673,789,343.84	404,021,547
North Carolina.....	27,518,834.80	63,370,283
Pennsylvania.....	209,606,584.90	284,000,126
Texas.....	77,070,676.55	154,392,068
South Carolina.....	7,214,917.15	45,519,505
Virginia.....	29,977,565.88	55,044,170
West Virginia.....	14,398,861.07	49,917,143

I am not including in the above tabulation a number of the smaller States which contribute even less than those listed, and which also derive millions in benefits. Using the old "red baiting" tactics to cast a cloud of discredit over the entire W. P. A. and shadows of distrust on the New Deal, its great leader, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and members of the administration in order to achieve their objective of hamstringing and destroying the relief program, is not a new game for the reactionaries who place an interest-bearing coupon bond ahead of a hungry American baby. By singling out a few misguided individuals whose mental capacities have perhaps been so weakened by hunger and privation as a result of the sit-down strike of capital and private enterprise that they join or support the Communist Party, reactionary legislators endeavor to prejudice the entire program and insinuate that any administrator, public official, or politician who takes the side of the underprivileged is "red." This smearing campaign has as its diabolical objective not just minor W. P. A. project workers but men like Aubrey Williams, of the National Youth Administration, whose department has been drastically curtailed in this bill; men like Colonel Harrington, whose efforts and work no single critic has been able to impeach or impugn; and others whose only sin seems to be that they believe in the program of the New Deal and have "guts" enough to praise and defend it against selfish and partisan critics.

The National Youth Administration, so ably directed by Aubrey Williams, who gained his early education in Tennessee and Ohio, served in the World War, and worked in Wisconsin for that State's great university, for the States of Mississippi and Texas, thereafter came to Washington to serve our Democratic administration, has also received the attention of the committee to the tune of a reduction of millions in its appropriation.

The National Youth Administration is aiding thousands of future Americans to acquire that educational background which will make them valuable and healthy citizens in the future. If the cost of preparing the youth of America for the days to come and the problems they must face was 10 times the meager appropriation recommended by the President, which the committee has seen fit to reduce, it would still be worth every cent of it. Though unfair criticism has been leveled at this activity initiated for the first time in history of any country, under a Democratic administration, I have heard none of these professional protectors of the Treasury, who never hesitate to vote for measures that benefit the banking and stockbroker fraternity, say anything about the fact that hundreds of checks from the National Youth Administration go out to boys from rural districts who are away at college. Do they

not realize that if these benefits were restricted only to the boys in cities having colleges that our farm boys could stay at home and help with the chores, thereby reducing the cost of farm labor? I hope they have not overlooked this means of saving money at the expense of the underprivileged, although I do not see it mentioned either in the committee's exhaustive study of W. P. A. shortcomings or in the speeches of any of the gentlemen who are trying to destroy the Democratic relief program.

No one regrets more than I do that there still are many unemployed in this country whose families face privation and hunger unless an adequate relief program is supplied. Had private capital and private enterprise not engaged in a sit-down strike to discredit President Roosevelt and our administration; had the great minds of industry and business which some gentlemen here are so quick to defend not entered into a treasonable conspiracy to curtail employment and hoard their wealth and profits, we would not be faced with a relief problem as great as we face today. As long, however, as there are men willing and able to work in this country who cannot find jobs in private industry, I intend to devote every energy within my power to see that the Government provides a work program that will employ them at wages to enable them and their families to live in some semblance of decency.

The committee has been most energetic in investigating the shortcomings of any project that has been embarked upon in city areas. With all their ability, and the time they have spent in investigating the entire W. P. A. set-up, they have only been able to find one or two instances worthy of criticism sufficiently important to use either in a speech or in their report. On the other hand, scores of instances have been reported where relatives of rich farmers and big landowners in rural districts have found their way onto relief rolls and in many sections farmers complain that they cannot hire help because all the available labor in the rural districts are attached to the local county relief rolls. I would not insinuate that because a majority of the committee comes from rural districts that they overlooked and deliberately failed to include in their report this type of W. P. A. shortcoming. I do, however, note that nowhere in this resolution is there a restriction against the use of any W. P. A. funds in rural districts where facts or surveys may show a lack of farm labor at the prevailing wages paid for hired hands and farm help. I was glad to learn in the House yesterday that the W. P. A. set-up in Virginia was perfect and had never committed a sin. I am surprised, however, that the gentleman did not give a report on the details and methods pursued in that State to prevent any W. P. A. mistakes, so that the less enlightened sections of America which pour income taxes into the Federal Treasury so that Virginia might benefit could find out whether or not they desired a majority of their working population employed either in industry or on W. P. A., to live as they do in Virginia. The solicitude of gentlemen from districts with little or no unemployed for reducing the benefits available to the people of city and industrial districts not only surprises but frightens me. I only hope a majority of the House will not surrender the millions of American unemployed to the tender mercies of those who represent such well-preserved, well-fed areas of the country.

Under the guise of economy, the present resolution has been cleverly constructed to so hamper, restrict, and encircle with regulations the providing of work relief that, should the House fail to amend the numerous, more drastic, and unfair provisions, the entire W. P. A. program, worked out over a number of years of trial, will be practically destroyed. I urge every Member who has any feeling for the unemployed to aid us in removing from this bill its many unfair provisions. I urge all Members to approach this problem on a nonpartisan basis, free from prejudice. I ask them not to be influenced by the obvious attempts of a few who, for political purposes and in order to discredit the New Deal and our President, have used any and every means at hand to color the minds of Congress and the public so that the

relief program will not only be hamstrung but that small business, which benefits greatly from the wages of the W. P. A. workers, will be harmed should this measure, as introduced, be passed.

Amendments designed to remove from this bill those unfair and unjust restrictions, will be offered. Every Member has the duty of being here on the floor during the sessions of the Committee of the Whole, to help with their vote in getting these amendments adopted. I shall devote every energy within my power to bring about the passage of a fair bill, as President Roosevelt hopes the House will pass in spite of the committee's action, and I ask the aid and support of the Members in my efforts. [Applause.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. ENGEL].

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Chairman, I was very much interested in a statement made by my good friend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH]. He was a Member of this House in 1908, when I was a student at Northwestern University Law School at Chicago. He took the floor of the House the other day and boasted of the continuous and overwhelming majority the Democratic Party had in the city of Chicago. In view of that statement, it seems to me absurd to try to place upon the Republicans and the Republican Party the responsibility for the Democratic misdeeds in the city of Chicago. This is a two-party system. The minority party is charged with criticizing and exposing the errors of the majority party. This is true, regardless as to which party may be in the majority or in the minority.

I have the highest regard and the greatest respect for that individual we used to call a Republican in the solid Democratic States of the South and a Democrat in the rock-ribbed Republican States of the North; that individual who goes to the polls on every election and votes his convictions without hope of success for himself and his party in that State. I respect that individual who has the courage to vote his convictions in the face of overwhelming opposition. Whether he be a Republican in the South or a Democrat in the North, he is a real American.

However, I have nothing but contempt for that high-bred, hyphenated Demo-Republican mugwump who sits with his mug on one side of the political fence and his wump on the other side waiting to put his mug with his wump or his wump with his mug, whichever suits his financial interests the best. He is neither a Republican nor a Democrat, but just a plain mugwump.

When the gentleman from Illinois speaks of Republicans being in charge of W. P. A. projects in the city of Chicago, which has been so overwhelmingly Democratic, he must be speaking of former Republicans of the Ickes-Wallace type and some of these other political mugwumps who have deserted the Republican Party and have for financial or other reasons joined the Democrats. They double-crossed us, and I want to say to the Democratic Party before you get through with them they will double-cross you. Some of them are even now trying to come back to the Republican ranks, but while I welcome back into the Republican ranks anyone who sincerely and honestly left those ranks, or any Democrats who can no longer stomach the New Deal, if I had my way I would make these political mugwumps wear sackcloth and ashes, walk the political sawdust trail, and kneel first at the altar of political repentance. You Democrats have them. Keep them, but do not try to hold us responsible for any of their misdeeds.

And while I am talking about the Democratic Party, may I call to the attention of the gentleman from Illinois and others that according to the American Federation of Labor figures, we had 13,185,000 on the unemployed list in January 1939, while the average number during the year 1932, according to the same American Federation of Labor figures, was 13,182,000. In other words, you had in January 1939, 3,000 more unemployed than the average number of unemployed during the year 1932—that being the last year the Republican Party was in power.

May I also call attention to the fact that according to the W. P. A. Administrator's testimony before the Appropriations

Committee last winter, we had 3,000,000 more people on relief in February 1939 than we had in February 1933. In spite of all you Democrats could do, the most you could give employment to was 3,000,000 people, leaving some 10,000,000 people unemployed, waiting for a few relief crumbs that were dished out to them by the Democratic administration.

The appalling waste and inefficiency on W. P. A. construction projects as disclosed in the testimony of competent engineers of the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department before the House committee investigating W. P. A. is little less than a crime against the taxpayers of the Nation and a cruel betrayal of thousands of needy and deserving unemployed workers who never were able to get on the W. P. A. rolls, because despite the millions we have spent, we have never been able to take care of more than a fraction of the jobless.

As unfolded by a procession of unimpeachable witnesses, the record is one of projects badly planned and ineptly executed, of costly changes in basic plans after construction has long been under way—in one instance as long as 2 years—and of negligent and incompetent supervision. It is a tragic story of wanton waste on road building undertaken in the dead of winter when ordinary common sense should have been sufficient to have caused postponement in the face of the insufferable obstacles imposed by weather conditions. And it is a shameful record of the indiscriminate mass assignment of workers to projects regardless of their fitness for the particular jobs.

It is a record of the waste of millions of dollars through the protraction of projects for weeks and months beyond a reasonable time for their completion. Had it not been for this waste, the number of projects could have been multiplied with commensurate benefit to the taxpayers who foot the bill.

Of course, every reasonable person knows that you cannot expect to obtain the same degree of efficiency on a W. P. A. project as on a private construction job. But apparent as it is, why there must be a difference in cost, there is no hard and fast rule, no yardstick by which the difference can be exactly measured. The best that we can do is to compare the actual cost of W. P. A. construction projects with the cost of the same job if undertaken under private contract and in comparing the results to bear in mind that a reasonable difference in cost is inevitable. But I do submit and maintain that the differences as shown by the testimony of the engineering witnesses before the committee are so great as to shock the reason and the conscience of those whose duty it is to prevent scandalous waste of the taxpayers' money and to spread W. P. A. jobs as widely as possible among the deserving needy.

These engineering witnesses had years of experience in both public and private construction work, and were loaned to the committee by the Procurement Division of the United States Treasury Department. Mr. Stephens, one of the witnesses, testified that he had 40 years' experience as a construction engineer.

Time does not permit a recital of all of the instances of waste and inefficiency brought out by the committee investigation. I shall mention only a few of them, but sufficient to indicate the extent of the waste and how, if costs had been held within reasonable bounds, more of the unemployed could have been added to the rolls under a plan of staggering W. P. A. employment in line with a suggestion made to the committee by Colonel Harrington himself.

Let us start off with New York State. The record shows: Schoolhouse No. 64, New York City: W. P. A. cost, \$782,000; estimated cost under private contract, \$441,000.

Colonel Harrington testified that the average per capita cost of each project worker is \$61 a month. On that basis, the loss of \$341,000 is equivalent to the cost of keeping 5,590 workers on the W. P. A. rolls for 1 month.

Public building in Brooklyn: W. P. A. cost, \$350,000; estimated cost under private contract, \$265,000. The \$85,000 loss is equivalent to the cost of keeping 1,393 workers on the rolls for 1 month.

Police station in New York City: W. P. A. cost, \$336,000; estimated cost under private contract, \$201,300. Loss of \$134,000 is equivalent to the cost of keeping 2,208 workers on the rolls for 1 month.

Now for Pennsylvania. Here we have—

Project No. 170 was a road-construction project 22 miles long from Wilkes-Barre to Hazleton, Pa. Mr. Stephens testified that that project consisted of an addition on each side of a concrete highway of shoulders 3 feet wide made of broken stone, on top of which asphalt was placed. He testified that the construction cost of this project was \$1,960,611, or \$89,000 per mile. He further testified that, in the judgment of the engineers from the Procurement Division, \$365,000 would have been a large amount to assign to that project; that the average cost should not have exceeded \$17,000 per mile.

According to testimony, it cost five times as much to build this project under W. P. A. than it would have cost by private contract, the excess cost being \$72,000 per mile.

"Look Out" Route No. 4: W. P. A. cost, \$101,000; estimated cost under private contract, \$38,000. The loss of \$63,000 is equivalent to the cost of keeping 1,032 workers on the rolls for 1 month.

High-school building in Glen Rock, Pa.: W. P. A. cost, \$95,000; estimated cost under private contract, \$69,000. The loss of \$26,000 is equivalent to the cost of keeping 426 workers on the rolls for 1 month.

And now let us look at the Maestri Market project in New Orleans. The W. P. A. cost was \$44,062 and the estimated cost under private construction \$30,000. The \$14,062 loss is equivalent to the cost of keeping 230 workers on the rolls for 1 month.

And now let us look at the W. P. A. building at the New York World's Fair which W. P. A. built to sell itself to the people through the scandalous misuse of the people's money. According to the testimony given before the committee on May 2, that W. P. A. building had cost up to that time a total of \$544,000, whereas Colonel Harrington had testified about 2 months before that the total cost would be about \$250,000.

That, however, is not the worst of it. One of the Treasury's engineers testified that on the day he inspected the project he found that of all the workers on the job only 17.7 percent were relief labor and the other 82.3 percent were nonrelief workers.

This means that 82.3 percent of the workers on this job were not relief workers but were being paid with money which this Congress appropriated solely for the needy unemployed. Moreover, these nonrelief workers were not limited to the security wage, but many of them, as the committee record shows, were permitted to earn as much as \$250 a month while ten or eleven million unemployed were unable to get on the W. P. A. They were not even given a chance to make the security wage.

If the difference between the estimated cost originally given the committee by Colonel Harrington and the actual cost as given in the testimony of the Treasury Department engineer was due to the employment of nonrelief workers, then the difference of \$294,000 would have been sufficient to pay 4,819 W. P. A. workers for 1 month.

I am here reminded of the testimony given before the District of Columbia Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, of which I was a member 2 years ago, by Miss Alice Hill, relief administrator for the District of Columbia, that they were paying as high as \$100 relief per family per month, plus food from the Surplus Commodities Credit Corporation and clothes from the W. P. A. Miss Hill, at my request, placed into the record a statement showing that they were allowing a baby 2 years old or under \$7.50 a month for food costs.

I told this story a year ago at a farmers' picnic in my district. When I finished speaking a woman stepped forward and said, "Did I understand you clearly, Mr. ENGEL? Did you say that they were paying \$100 a month relief per family, plus food and clothes, in the District of Columbia?"

"Yes," I said. "The testimony before our committee showed that."

She said, "My God! I have two girls, one 16 and one 17 years old, and they are allowing me \$1 a week for food per person. I could not feed them and they left me, hitchhiking, and God knows where or what they are doing," and she sat down and cried.

You never saw anything like this under a Republican administration. While you now hear a great deal of talk about the people who were starving in 1932, such talk was invented since the New Deal abandoned their plan of economy and adopted their spending program. If one-third of the people were ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clothed in 1932, why did not the Democratic Party say something about it in its platform? You can search the Democratic platform of 1932 from beginning to end. You can read over every speech made by the President and every campaign orator during the 1932 campaign. Not once did you hear anyone use the word "starvation" or accuse the Republican Party of not taking care of those on relief. On the contrary they said that we were too extravagant, we spent too much money, we were too wasteful, and they promised the country that they were going to eliminate extravagance and waste and were going to cut expenditures 25 percent; and they actually did pass the Economy Act in trying to cut expenditures 25 percent. Not one word was heard of anyone being ill-housed, ill-fed, or without clothes until that economy program was abandoned for the greatest spending program in the history of the country. Herbert Hoover does not need me to defend him. However, to accuse the man who fed starving Belgians in 1917 of trying to starve his own countrymen and his people is outrageous and an injustice both to the former President and to the Republican Party.

One of the witnesses testified that he had a letter from Chief Engineer Frame, of the Pennsylvania State Highway Department. It was in response to a question as to whether if it were necessary to require the sponsor to pay one-third the cost of highway construction, using W. P. A. labor, the Pennsylvania Highway Department would be interested. The witness quoted from the letter as follows:

You can readily see that this department could not agree to a sponsor's contribution of 33 1/3 percent of the entire cost of the project, based on W. P. A. labor and supervision, as past performances indicate that the sponsors' contribution in this proportion would be more than equal to the cost of a completed job if performed by department forces or contract.

In other words the head of the Pennsylvania State Highway Department stated unequivocally that in view of the cost of labor and materials for roads constructed under W. P. A., it was less expensive for the department to build roads by contract labor than to pay one-third of the W. P. A. cost as a sponsor's contribution.

In my own State of Michigan, the township board of Glen Arbor, Leelanau County, refused to accept a Federal contribution in connection with the erection of a community building on the ground that it could and did actually erect the building at a cost less than the share it would have had to contribute to obtain the Federal contribution.

In connection with the road in Pennsylvania for which basic plans were changed after construction had been under way for 2 years, a witness testified that \$235,500 was spent in the months of December 1935, and January, February, and March 1936.

The witness produced a letter from the W. P. A. administrator in Pennsylvania in which the latter explained:

This money was spent for snow removal, the payment for lost time for which the workers did not have to perform work, and a small portion was spent in cleaning up along this route. This means that this particular amount of money cannot be applied against any units of work performed in this year.

The Pennsylvania administrator further stated that the policy of paying workers for time lost due to weather conditions prior to June 22, 1936, was based upon a Presidential Executive Order No. 7,046, issued May 20, 1935, wherein it was stated that monthly earnings are in the nature of a salary and workers shall be paid for time lost due to weather

conditions or temporary interruptions in the project beyond the control of the workers.

The administrator became even more specific. He added:

On the basis of both the regulations and policy of the W. P. A., employees performing snow removal work were paid on the premise that they were being paid because weather conditions prevented their performing project duties, and their labor was taken advantage of to clear away dangerous conditions caused by heavy snow. Payment was not for the snow removal but for their absence from the project.

And so we learn that W. P. A. workers have been paid for merely staying away from the project to which they were assigned to work. Of course, no one wants any W. P. A. worker to go hungry because weather conditions prevent him from doing his work. Having assigned workers to an impossible task in the wintertime, the New Deal high command could do no other than to order that they be paid regardless of whether they worked or not. The delinquency is not that of the worker. It is that of the W. P. A. executives in high places who undertook to push such a project at such a time.

When this committee started work there seemed to be on the part of W. P. A. officials in some sections a contempt for Congress and those representing committees of Congress. You undoubtedly read in the papers sometime ago where in the State of Tennessee a State administrator, Colonel Berry, telegraphed his assistant to kick an investigator out of his office. Before the telegram was delivered, however, he lost his nerve and countermanded it by telephone.

In New York State, Colonel Somervell, the State administrator, I believe, in order to show his contempt for the investigators and apparently for the committee, sent each of the two investigators a little silver ball with a little silver screw, indicating that he thought they were screwballs.

When the committee got through with Tennessee and New York no more telegrams nor screwballs were being sent.

In conclusion, I want to express my appreciation for the splendid work done by this committee. I cannot say too much for the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM], acting chairman, and the ranking minority member from New York [Mr. TABER]; in fact, each member of this committee deserves the thanks of the Nation.

I believe they have written a bill which, while far from perfect, will, if passed in its present form, eliminate a great many of the evils disclosed by the testimony, some of which are given here. I believe that the bill as written will not only give the taxpayers more value for the dollars they are spending but will give more dollars to more people who, through no fault of their own, are compelled to accept either direct relief or work relief.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS].

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Chairman, I propose at the proper time to offer an amendment to increase the recommendations of the Appropriations Committee for the National Youth Administration from \$81,000,000 to \$123,000,000—\$123,000,000 being the amount recommended by the Director of the Budget.

The amount recommended by the Appropriations Committee, \$81,000,000, is substantially the appropriation for the National Youth Administration for the fiscal year that will end on June 30—this month. The figures, so that my statement will not be contradicted, are as follows: The National Youth Administration had \$760,000 of unexpended balance, plus \$75,000,000 of appropriation, and in addition to that, from four and one-half to five and one-half million dollars of administrative expenses paid, not out of the \$75,000,000, but out of W. P. A. appropriations. The three added together amount to about what the Appropriations Committee has recommended to the House for the next fiscal year, or \$81,000,000.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Committee, one-third of all the unemployed in this country are those youths between 16 and 24 years of age. One-third of all of the unemployed is in that group.

This morning I telephoned Ray Huff, superintendent of penal institutions for the District of Columbia, and he told me that at the reformatory for the District of Columbia—and that is where felons are housed—the average age of inmates is 23 years. At the workhouse, where those convicted of misdemeanors are kept and where the drunks predominate, the average age is 38. But even in the workhouse the average age of the real criminals is 23.

The same rule prevails in all of the penal institutions in this country, showing that the old adage, "the idle mind is the devil's best workshop," is certainly true with the youth of this country.

Ladies and gentlemen, there are 3,000,000 young people eligible for school aid in this country. Three million of them. And we provide school aid to only 500,000 of them. If the Budget estimate had prevailed, we could have aided 400,000 more of them by enabling them to go to the high schools and colleges of the country, and 200,000 if they were put on work aid. The action of the committee is an emphatic denial of an education they had long hoped for to these 400,000 young men and women. Bear in mind that this activity costs \$10 per month. The C. C. C. costs 10 times that much or more. It costs one-sixth as much as work relief. In my opinion, the creation of the National Youth Administration is the outstanding accomplishment of the New Deal. Its benefits cannot be measured.

These young men and women are kept at home. They are instructed by school teachers in their own communities and are under the influence of their parents. They are not housed together in tents or camps—to my mind, always something to be avoided.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is not possible because of lack of time to detail the value of the N. Y. A. A few illustrations will suffice to show the character of people to whom we are giving this small monthly aid.

In North Dakota, out of 262 honor awards, 87 were won by N. Y. A. students, or 33 percent.

In Georgia two out of three scholarships for study in Denmark were granted to N. Y. A. students by the Rotary Clubs.

In Washington State University 8 out of 69 Phi Beta Kappas were N. Y. A. students, or 11½ percent.

In Washington State College 27, or 21.4 percent, of all students elected to Phi Beta Kappa were N. Y. A. students.

In Washington State 97 out of 436 scholarships, or 22 percent, went to high-school students.

The University of Wisconsin reports that of 50 who were elected to Phi Beta Kappa, 12 were N. Y. A. students, or 25 percent.

In a general report that I have been able to get from 20 States, N. Y. A. students are better throughout those 20 States in scholarships than the average.

About 90 percent of all N. Y. A. students who graduate are receiving scholarship awards or Phi Beta Kappa. It is true also that all N. Y. A. students are above the average in scholarship. When you criticize these young people who are working for only \$4 to \$10 per month you must remember that we are receiving something worth while in return for the meager \$3, \$4, \$6, \$8, or \$10 per month that we are paying them in order to keep them in school and out of idleness.

Mr. Chairman, let me call your attention to these further facts: No school criticism has been directed against the N. Y. A. There is not a man in this House who has heard a single school teacher or college professor criticize N. Y. A. work. The schools and colleges are unanimous in seeing this activity enlarged. Even schools like Yale, Princeton, and Vassar have accepted N. Y. A. aid for their graduate students, their theological students, their medical students, and students who are poor but who possess outstanding scholarship.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. COLLINS. No newspaper criticism has been directed against the N. Y. A. I put in the Appendix of the RECORD, page

2573, a statement giving excerpts from 50 or more of them. If you will examine your daily papers in your own home towns or your own home districts you will find that the newspapers there are unanimous in their praise of N. Y. A.

Mr. Chairman, there is no community criticism of N. Y. A., because the public sees its vast benefits. More than 300,000 of these youths who were on work relief have secured jobs because of the vocation that they were able to learn through aid furnished by this worth-while governmental agency.

No political criticism has been leveled against N. Y. A. Partisans have, of course, criticized Mr. Aubrey Williams. They have criticized Mr. Williams because he is a Democrat and because he is an intense friend of the President of the United States, but no man has criticized the fine work that Mr. Williams or his able assistants have done in the National Youth Administration. It is the best of all New Deal agencies. Its accomplishments will continue to merit the approbation of Americans everywhere who are eager to see its youth directed along right lines. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. CASE].

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, let me express my appreciation that the committee has tried really to write a legislative relief appropriation bill. As I go through this bill, it is obvious that there has been more attempt to define the terms under which the money shall be spent than has been true in previous bills.

I want also to commend to your particular attention something that does not appear in the bill, and that is the statement of minority views. At the very conclusion of the statement of minority views in the report you will find a list of 10 or a dozen things which would go to the very heart of a recovery program. If we are ever to solve the relief problem, we must work on the recovery problem.

While I express my appreciation of the attempt of the committee in the main to work out legislative direction for the expenditure of these relief funds, I shall also call your attention to some portions of the bill which deserve special consideration by the Members of the House. It seems to me that in their practical application they will create some unworkable conditions.

I listened to the remarks of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS], and I join with him in his praise for a great deal of the splendid work that has been done by the National Youth Administration. At the same time, from a parity standpoint, I think this bill does very well by the National Youth Administration. Last year they had \$75,000,000. It is proposed this year to give them \$81,000,000. It is the only agency which is maintaining or possibly getting a slight increase over the funds appropriated last year.

FARM SECURITY FUNDS CUT

A much more serious situation might be said to exist with respect to the Farm Security Administration. This activity has suffered a real reduction from \$175,000,000 last year to \$123,000,000. The only sense in which the National Youth Administration could be said to have a cut facing them is that they asked for \$123,000,000 this year, which was an increase from the \$75,000,000 they had last year; and had they been given this \$123,000,000 they would have been given all that is proposed to be allowed to the Farm Security Administration.

The record of the Farm Security Administration, so far as I have seen it under close observation, is one of good administration and one of real help, and one where a great deal of the money expended has gone into real rehabilitation loans that are increasing the ability of the people to take care of themselves.

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I yield.

Mr. HOPE. Is it not also true that that is a program which consists mostly of loans which are being repaid in very large measure?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Yes; and those loans are being repaid by farmers who have been regarded as poor

credit risks, or people who could not get credit from any other source.

I notice one feature in the bill with respect to the Farm Security Administration, and that is one which will permit them to receive labor from persons instead of giving them direct grants. I approve the spirit of that provision. I know the farmers will appreciate that change, because many is the time a farmer has backed me up against the fence and said: "Why do you fellows in Congress insist that we take this as a grant? We would like to work this money out and pay it back." The provisions of this bill will permit them to come under the laws relating to liability compensation so that they can work instead of taking outright grants. I know this will be received with considerable appreciation.

I have some doubt with regard to the workability of some features of the bill. I call them to your attention because they are going to be problems that Members of the House will face in the practical application of the bill.

THE 45-45-10 FORMULA

In the first place, I want to mention the formula for the distribution of jobs. I am wholly in sympathy with the idea of trying to have a formula which will distribute this work according to the actual needs of the country, but I have some doubt in my mind whether the formula of 45 based on population, 45 on unemployment, and a leeway of only 10 percent is adequate to permit the necessary adjustment to take care of an emergency. If you have a hurricane in New England you may find that the 10 percent may not permit prompt emergency action, and if you have a drought situation the 10 percent may not be sufficient.

A formula of 40-40-20 would seem more workable. I am inclined to believe, from the figures I have been able to find, that this particular formula will create a larger proportion for New York and other large, populous States but will penalize the States of the Middle West. I see a Member shake his head. If that is not correct, I would like to be corrected.

Mr. TABER. If the gentleman will yield, may I say that the opposite would result. As a matter of fact, it would fix things so that there would be a fixed formula and the Administrator would have less discretion, but he would have enough discretion measured throughout the year to take care of an emergency.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I tried to find some evidence on this in the hearings, but was unable to do so. I endeavored to locate some tables to show how this would work out. Such examination as I have been able to make raised doubts in my mind, but I am glad to have reassurance by the gentleman from New York.

I wonder if he could give me any reference to tables that will show how that formula will work?

Mr. TABER. I cannot give the gentleman a reference to a table in the hearings. In the Dakotas, for instance, they had more unemployment and that sort of thing than in any other part of the country, even though it is confined to the farms. The unemployment census would rather indicate that situation. If the gentleman will look on page 6296 of the RECORD, he will see that situation pretty well analyzed in a table that I put in the RECORD.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I will be glad to look up that table.

Mr. MICHENER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MICHENER. That formula, as I understand it, contemplates normal conditions, not cyclones, hurricanes, or extraordinary occurrences of that kind, to which the gentleman has referred. It seems to me we must legislate for things like cyclones and great catastrophes on a basis by themselves, and we should not and cannot, as a matter of relief, contemplate and provide for what might happen.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Except, of course, that the Congress is not always in session when one of these cyclones comes along.

Mr. MURRAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. MURRAY. Can the gentleman tell us what percentage of this money has been used for farm relief and what percentage has been used for promoting canning factories, processing plants, and so forth?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. To what money does the gentleman refer?

Mr. MURRAY. To the money that has been expended of this \$123,000,000?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. All I can say is that in my district there is not a canning factory or anything of that sort that has been promoted with or financed by Farm Security Administration money.

Mr. MURRAY. Does the gentleman think the Farm Security Administration should promote canning factories, processing plants, and so forth?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I certainly have not asked them to do so.

NOT ALL FEDERAL PROJECTS ARE BAD

The second thing I am wondering about in the honest attempt of the committee to work out a proper use for this money has to do with the question of Federal projects. I certainly am not here to raise any brief in behalf of the Federal theater project, but I hope that in killing one bad wolf the committee will not kill all the sheep. I call the attention of the Members of the House to the list of Federal agencies on pages 58, 59, 60, and 61 of the hearings—agencies that have carried on good Federal projects.

Every Member has had some of these projects—control of Dutch elm disease, repair of Army posts and Federal buildings, improvement of roads, conservation of water, and so forth. Go through the list of agencies concerned and I am sure that you will feel that regular Federal agencies should have an opportunity to sponsor W. P. A. projects, as well as local or State agencies. When the score is finally written some of the most lasting benefits will be found in these projects. I suggest that we strike out the blanket provision against Federal projects and, on page 6, insert a new paragraph at bottom of the page to read as follows:

(1) The Board is authorized to allocate to other Federal departments, establishments, and agencies, for the purpose of operating projects of the types specified for the Works Progress Administration under paragraph (b) of this section, including administrative expenses of any such department, establishment, or agency incident to the operation of such projects, not to exceed \$75,000,000 of the funds made available by such section to such Board and to prescribe rules and regulations for the operation of such projects in harmony with the provisions of this act: *Provided*, That not to exceed 3½ percent of the total amount so allotted to any such department, establishment, or agency shall be expended for administrative expenses: *And provided further*, That none of the funds made available under this subsection shall be used for the construction of any building that exceeds \$25,000 in total cost.

Then, on page 14, line 12, we should strike out the comma and insert "and subsection (1) of section 1," which is the amendment above.

These amendments, together with subsection (b) of section 11, which requires a full allocation to complete Federal projects, will prevent the starting of large buildings but will permit the carrying on of constructive, valuable Federal projects that will save in regular supply appropriations.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. You will note that the suggested amendment on Federal projects would carry out the recommendation against any permitting W. P. A. to construct buildings costing more than \$25,000. That is fair enough on Federal buildings, but a different situation exists with respect to small non-Federal building projects in small or rural communities where skilled labor is often not available in large numbers and where a small school building may be the most valuable project that can be proposed and financed.

The result of a fixed \$25,000 limitation on non-Federal building projects will be to cripple the construction of small school buildings in districts and in communities where they cannot finance W. P. A. projects. Raising of that \$25,000 limitation to \$50,000 or \$60,000 will affect only about 5 percent of W. P. A. building projects and will permit the only kind of

projects that can be developed in certain communities where any permanent good may result. It will still transfer to P. W. A. or other contract work over 85 percent of all the building construction that W. P. A. has been doing.

Mr. Chairman, I hope the limitation may be raised; otherwise I foresee a new crop of boondoggling projects that will bring about a great deal of criticism of the Works Progress Administration and the entire relief program. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO].

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, I shall ask unanimous consent when we return to the House to insert in the RECORD a letter which states exactly what I did say at the Right-to-Work Congress. The letter speaks for itself.

I now direct my remarks to the resolution before us. With all due deference to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia, may I say that Flo Ziegfeld glorified the American chorus girl and the gentleman from Virginia has glorified Herbert Hoover with this resolution. Every relief doctrine that Mr. Hoover has advocated before and since he left the White House has been incorporated in this bill. It accomplishes what Mr. Hoover has been preaching for a long time. It inevitably takes us back to a leaves-raking relief program, to the dole, and insures the destruction of the W. P. A. program. Is it any wonder, therefore, that this bill and its chief sponsor, the gentleman from Virginia, have received the plaudits of every Tory and enemy of P. W. A. and the unemployed not only in Congress but throughout the country? It is most significant also that those who have voted consistently against the President's requests for W. P. A. funds are the very gentlemen who now so vociferously support the various provisions of this bill.

This resolution, Mr. Chairman, is a complete surrender on the part of the Democrats in this House to the dole and leaf-raking philosophy of the Republicans of 1932. It is a testimonial to Herbert Hoover and more than that it is the child of a marriage between the Hoover Democrats and the Hoover Republicans in this Congress.

Hoover doctrine is carried out in section 12 of the resolution. It limits all building-construction projects to \$25,000. No socially useful building projects can be undertaken in any of the large or middle-sized cities of this Nation under this \$25,000 limitation. Colonel Harrington informed the committee to that effect. Colonel Harrington is an expert on this matter of construction, because not only is he W. P. A. Administrator, but Colonel Harrington has been Chief Engineer of W. P. A. In his statement the day before yesterday to the committee, Colonel Harrington stated specifically that this limitation on building construction would mean that these worth-while public buildings, which are frequently the type of public works most needed in a community, would simply not be constructed and the skilled workers who would otherwise be employed on them would be dependent on direct relief or be forced to take unskilled jobs with the resulting deterioration of their skill. Another victory for easy-chaired reactionaries is found in section 16, subdivision b, which provides that workers who have been employed for 18 months are to be automatically discharged and cannot return except after a period of 60 days has elapsed from the date of their removal and only after they have been recertified. You are not going to correct the situation of having a tremendous waiting list of unemployed duly certified for W. P. A. by kicking workers off W. P. A. without an iota of justification. I disagree with the contention of the chairman of the committee, who feels that these people have tried to make a career out of W. P. A. I do not wish anybody any hard luck here, but if I did want to wish one hard luck, I would wish that he spend 90 days of his life on W. P. A. work and be dependent on W. P. A. and see how long he would want to remain on W. P. A. I say that the average W. P. A. worker does not want to remain on W. P. A. He does not want to make a career of W. P. A. He is anxious to get off W. P. A. If he is on W. P. A. he

is on W. P. A. through no fault of his own. He cannot find work and is on W. P. A. simply because private industry does not offer him work. But you kick him out in order to make room for somebody else who is unemployed.

You say that is the solution of the problem of taking care of those who have been certified and have been on the waiting list. That is no solution. That is a Bourbon attitude toward American unemployed. The real solution is to appropriate additional funds so as to care for those now on W. P. A. and those certified and waiting to be put on W. P. A. The real solution is to appropriate sufficient to take care of 3,000,000 workers instead of 2,000,000 workers. I believe it is most regrettable that the administration made a retreat by requesting funds to take care of only 2,000,000 workers. What we need are funds sufficient to take care of 3,000,000 workers on W. P. A. The only progressive position to take on this subject is to support an amendment appropriating \$2,250,000,000, which is the sum required to care for 3,000,000 workers. There are many other features of this bill that would bring back the unemployed to the days of apple selling. The earmarking of \$125,000,000 for P. W. A. is for all purposes a further reduction of W. P. A. I am ready to vote for P. W. A. funds. By all means P. W. A. is necessary. Bring out a P. W. A. bill and I shall vote for it; but do not rob Peter to pay Paul. Provide for both. Time does not permit me to go into the other Hoover features of this bill. I shall now dwell on the sugar coating placed about this bill so that Congress may swallow it.

How has this tory school of philosophy been made palatable to us? By a very clever line of attack. By "red" baiting and by New York City baiting. Hysteria and prejudice were brought into action. We had here yesterday two star witnesses quoted by the gentleman from Virginia. One of these star witnesses is a man by the name of Edwin Banta. He was used to prove communism in the writers project. A great deal of weight was given to him by the gentleman from Virginia. The House was aroused to applause by the use of Edwin Banta in support of the gentleman's attack on the writers project. You were made to believe that Banta was a great authority on subversive activities in the writers project. I wonder if the gentleman from Virginia knows, and I state it on my own responsibility, that Mr. Banta spent time in the psychopathic ward of Bellevue Hospital in New York City, and Mr. Banta is a "screwball" of the first order. Yet we are asked to virtually kill this project simply on the authority of a "screwball" who spent time in a psychopathic ward.

However, I wish to say this in behalf of Mr. Banta. When it comes to being an authority on W. P. A. "screwball" as he is, I believe he is a greater authority on that subject than Mr. Stanley High, who was the other witness used by the gentleman from Virginia yesterday. Everybody who knows Stanley High and the methods he has employed in the past knows very well that Mr. Banta has more sanity than Mr. High has integrity.

Now I wish to emphasize, if I may, the method employed by the committee in dealing with certain groups. With one wave of the hand you abolish the theater project, and let me say it is marvelous the way that is done, the acrobatic feat that was performed by the gentleman from Virginia in regard to the theater project. Let us refer to his speech of March 30. His criticism of the theater project then was that it was making money, that it was in competition with private business and was driving private enterprise off Broadway. Yesterday his criticism of the theater project was that it was not making money, that it was losing money. When it is making money, let us get rid of it, and when it is losing money, let us get rid of it. This constitutes the reasoning for abolishing this project. Yet the committee did not give an opportunity to anybody who had any connection whatever with these projects to come before the committee and defend them.

I have in my hand correspondence in which the committee promised, definitely promised, the Federation of Arts Unions a hearing—and you cannot call this Federation of Arts Unions communistic; of course, some of you will. You

cannot call the Actors' Equity Association communistic, and you cannot call the American Federation of Actors, the American Federation of Radio Artists, the American Guild of Musical Artists, the American Federation of Musicians communistic, although some of you will.

This Federation of Arts Unions, which is composed 90 percent of A. F. of L. organizations, requested of the chairman of the Appropriations Committee an opportunity to appear. And what happened? They were promised an opportunity to appear. I have here two letters, and if I may be permitted to quote from these letters I should like to do so. I read one paragraph from a letter dated May 1 to Mr. Martin Popper, counsel for the Federation of Arts Unions:

Please be advised that due to limited time it has been necessary to schedule the appearance of witnesses and to limit the time which may be allowed them. While you may be assured that you will be given proper opportunity to testify, it will be necessary to limit your oral statement to 10 minutes.

These people were never given the 10 minutes and this letter was signed by the chairman of the committee [Mr. TAYLOR], for whom I have the highest regard and deepest affection.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. We have not finished the investigation, and we are going to give the gentleman a chance to be heard before the investigation is concluded.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I hope you are going to give him a chance to be heard before you finish your hearings, but before you finished your hearings you have used the testimony which these people wanted to refute, and you used that with an absolute reliance on the witnesses who testified against these projects. You used that testimony before you gave an opportunity to these people to refute the testimony. You condemned these projects before hearing their defenders. If you were going to give them a chance to answer later on, I say you had no right to condemn before hearing the defense.

Then there is another letter here to the same effect, and to date that hearing has not been granted. What good will a hearing do after Congress has killed these projects and thrown these fine people into the streets.

Now, with reference to the Workers Alliance—
[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 2 additional minutes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I know it is unpopular, perhaps, to stand up here and defend an organization which has been subject to "red" baiting, but when the day comes that I shall abandon a just cause because it is unpopular to defend it, then I shall have lost my right to public office. I say to you gentlemen in all sincerity that the unemployed of this country have a right to organize and they have a right to petition Congress and they have a right to engage in all proper and lawful activity to protect their interests, and that is just what the Workers Alliance has done. You have not as yet submitted one single iota of evidence of illegal, subversive, or un-American activity on the part of the Workers Alliance. Charges were made against the Workers Alliance by disgruntled, irresponsible, and disreputable people before the W. P. A. investigating committee. The Workers Alliance immediately offered to appear and offer testimony to refute the charges made against them. They sent a letter and a delegation. Never were they given the opportunity to defend themselves against the charges that were made. You may place a political label on one leader or two leaders in the Workers Alliance; their political views are their own business in our American democracy; but I challenge you to show me where the Workers Alliance has committed an unlawful act or where the Workers Alliance has committed an act that can be characterized as subversive.

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I cannot yield. I have only 2 minutes.

New York was baited here, but I want to quote from a colloquy between the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. O'NEAL] and Mayor LaGuardia. It is popular here to "red" bait the Workers Alliance and next to "red" baiting the Workers Alliance it is popular to bait the city of New York, and here is a statement on the part of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. O'NEAL], which Congress should have put an end to, unfair and unjust attacks against New York City. "I believe 53 percent is the highest, much higher than nearly all others," and this is the contribution on the part of New York.

Then he asks this question:

I would like to ask you, from your experience, do you not think that percentage is out of line as between the cities and the States?

Mayor LA GUARDIA. Of course, coming from a city that does pay its share, the answer is obvious.

We are taking care of 170,000 families in the city of New York. We are spending \$10,000,000 in the city of New York for direct relief, not only for unemployables, but for employable unemployed who should be cared for by the Federal Government, but who have to be provided for by the city because of reduced appropriations. For the relief of 170,000 families the city of New York contributes 60 percent of the \$10,000,000 spent each month. This is the record of the city of New York.

I say, Mr. Chairman, stop this "red" baiting, stop this New York City baiting. Hysteria and prejudice should have no place in a discussion of this most important question. Let us deal with fundamentals. How many unemployed have we in this country? Is it the responsibility of this Nation to care for these unemployed? If it is, then let us take care of them by making adequate appropriations to put them to work on socially useful projects at an American living wage. This, gentlemen, is Americanism in practice.

[Here the gavel fell.]

SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE WORKS PROGRESS
ADMINISTRATION ACTING UNDER HOUSE RESOLUTION 130,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,
Washington, D. C., May 1, 1939.

Mr. MARTIN POPPER,
Counsel, Federation of Arts Unions,
45 West Forty-seventh Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. POPPER: Reference is made to your letter dated April 26, 1939, requesting permission to appear before the subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives investigating W. P. A.

Please be advised that due to limited time it has been necessary to schedule the appearance of witnesses and to limit the time which may be allowed them. While you may be assured that you will be given proper opportunity to testify, it will be necessary to limit your oral statement to 10 minutes. You may, of course, file a written statement supplementing your oral presentation, which will be considered by the committee.

The committee has not yet set the time when you may appear, but we will advise you as soon as possible and in ample time for you to be present.

Very cordially yours,

EDWARD T. TAYLOR, Chairman.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 25, 1939.

Mr. MILTON KAUFMAN,
Executive Secretary, Federation of Arts Unions,
45 West Forty-seventh Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. KAUFMAN: This will acknowledge receipt of your telegram of May 25, 1939, wherein you request permission to appear before the subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives investigating the W. P. A.

You are respectfully advised that this committee will again resume hearings shortly. Please be assured that you will be given proper opportunity to testify. It may be necessary, however, to limit your oral statement to 10 minutes in view of the large number of requests that hearings be granted.

The information you received that the hearings are closed is erroneous and it is hoped that you will so advise your members.

Very cordially yours,

EDWARD T. TAYLOR, Chairman.

WORKERS ALLIANCE OF AMERICA,
Washington, D. C., June 14, 1939.

Hon. VITO MARCANTONIO,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: We have been checking over our records with regard to the proceedings of the National Right-to-Work Congress, and we find that a mistake was made in one of our releases

which gives a quotation from your speech before the Congress on June 9.

In our release we quote you as saying that you had seen pickpockets and criminals in New York City, and that compared to the W. P. A. Investigating Committee "these pickpockets and New York criminals are honest men."

Actually, in checking back the records, I find that your statement was: "Is the investigating committee going to treat the unemployed and W. P. A. workers like pickpockets and criminals and make people think perhaps that as compared with W. P. A. workers these pickpockets and New York criminals are honest men?"

I am very sorry for this error. I did not get to see the press release before it was issued, and feel that in justice to you I should call this to your attention and let you know that it was unintentional.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID LASSER, *National President.*

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN].

RELIEF VERSUS POLITICAL MANIPULATION AND SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, my vote has been cast consistently against the practice of giving to the President whatever sum he might ask for relief, to be administered under his direction.

My objection is not to the granting of adequate relief, for I believe that adequate relief should always be given, but to the practice of letting someone else fix the amount and determine the method of spending.

Whatever may be our opinion as to the President's ability and wisdom, we all know that it has been a physical impossibility for him to administer the vast sums placed at his disposal. Of necessity, he must entrust that task to others selected by him or, worse yet, selected by his subordinates. The expenditure of the funds we grant is not made either by the President or by those he appoints, but by someone well down in the executive department of whose activities the President cannot be personally advised.

Moreover, it is the duty of Congressmen, who are presumed to represent their constituents, to know the extent of the need of those in his district; to determine for himself the amount which should be appropriated; and it is the duty of Congress—a duty which should not be shirked—to see to it that all sums granted are used for the purpose for which they are appropriated.

The whole system is wrong, and we here in Congress, while not responsible for the maladministration, for the political use, of the money voted; for the subversive activities which have been carried on with its aid, are responsible for the granting of the authority which permits the misuse of the fund.

The reason so often given by Congressmen who have voted for these blanket appropriations is that in no other way would the needy be cared for; that we must either take or leave the administration's plan. The foregoing is no reason at all. It is but an excuse for a lack of courage on our part.

When the President declared that an emergency existed and that extraordinary sums must be granted to prevent suffering, to create employment, Congress should have recognized its responsibility and, through the committees of the House, have formulated a plan under which it would have performed its duty of determining the amount and the method of expenditure.

We have permitted the creation and the growth of this system which has become a national scandal, and it is time that we should assume our responsibility and perform our duties as representatives of our people by solving this question of relief, not leaving it to the determination of someone who represents no one in a legislative capacity.

The present bill is much better than those which preceded it, but it lacks the characteristics which would prevent much of the harm from which we are now suffering.

My own idea is that, if the States cannot sustain the burden of unemployment, the Federal Government must necessarily make appropriations to aid, contributions being obtained from the more wealthy and prosperous States to eke out the sums which the poorer, less prosperous Commonwealths can pay.

There should at all times, so far as possible, be a matching of Federal funds by local communities. Such a requirement will tend to lessen the burden on all, prevent suffering and obtain the greatest possible benefit from every dollar expended, for the local taxpayer, who furnishes the money, will be able then to see the manner in which the sums contributed by him are used; to determine for himself whether there is waste, extravagance, whether the amount paid out is sufficient or excessive.

The administration of the relief funds has not only been inefficient, but it has permitted money appropriated to relieve suffering, to create employment, to be used for political manipulation; to further subversive activities.

POLITICAL MANIPULATION

The report of a Senate committee shows conclusively that relief funds were used in several States for political purposes, for the advancement of the interests of certain candidates. In fact, in the Senate it was intimated that such use should be continued for the reason that State funds in one instance were being used for a like purpose. Such an argument is an insult to the intelligence and questions the honesty of every thinking person.

THE WORKERS ALLIANCE

Plants and trees have their parasites which feed upon them. Lice exist upon birds and animals—yes, in some instances, upon human beings who are so unfortunate that they cannot obtain proper food, dwellings, or afford those necessities of life which would enable them to exist in decency.

In the broadest sense, perhaps many professions, such as doctors, lawyers—and I am one—and preachers, because they actually with their labor fail to produce some of the necessities of life—those things which keep us alive—might be regarded as having some of the characteristics of parasites.

Then there are others who live upon money received from the members of organizations to which they contribute not at all.

But in my judgment the lousiest parasite of them all is he who lives upon money taken from the needy, from the unfortunate.

True, the officials of the Workers Alliance and its organizers do not employ directly the lame, the halt, and the blind to solicit funds for them, but they do tell the unfortunate and the needy that they, the unfortunate and the needy, can obtain more by paying these Workers Alliance officials a fee for telling them, the unfortunate ones, how better to show their needs and bring pressure to bear upon Congressmen who are charged with appropriating relief funds.

What is the difference between sending out a blind man, a crippled man, an emaciated child, to solicit upon the street corner and taking a part of his collections, and leading those in need to believe that, by paying a fee, their lot can be improved, if, under the direction of these organizers, the unfortunate bring mass pressure to bear upon their representatives?

If some Workers Alliance organizers and their kind are not parasites, what are they? We appropriate here in Congress funds for relief. Lasser lives in part by taking from those who are in need a portion of what is paid to them to lessen their misfortune.

There are charitable people in every district who can and will ascertain and present to representatives from such district the needs of the worthy who need aid in that district.

We condemned an overhead or service charge which in days gone by was imposed by one corporation upon another for a supervisory service. We should not permit relief money to reach the pockets of those who are engaged in obtaining larger and larger appropriations for more and more people at the expense of the workers, for, if the practice continues, it will bring disaster to all.

Lasser and his kind can best aid in alleviating the misery of our people by engaging in some work which will create callouses upon their hands and feet and give those upon their buttocks an opportunity to disappear. If they want

to be of real use, let them devise some plan that will create and give employment without taking from those who are now working. Contact with the soil, the performance of manual labor, will give them less time to devote to schemes which tend to destroy rather than to build up our country and the welfare of our people.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

While there is little, if any, sense in permitting funds appropriated for relief to be used by organizers who engage in political activities, as does the Workers Alliance, it is downright disloyal for us as Congressmen to permit relief funds to be used for subversive activities.

Yesterday, while the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WIGGLESWORTH] was speaking, the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO] challenged him to show that the Workers Alliance was ever engaged in subversive activities.

There was put into the RECORD recently a statement showing the number of Communists who were either members of or officers of some organizations of the Workers Alliance.

Mr. Chairman, in answer to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO], who just left the floor, I say to him that we from the country do not believe in "red baiting," if by that he means accusations which are unfounded, but we do believe that the truth should be known, at least part of the time. We do not believe in talking against the city folks, and neither do we believe that the city folks should permit the racketeers in New York City, for example, to tax the farmers from my district, from my home county, \$1.10 a case for every case of eggs we ship into New York City, after those eggs have passed State and Federal inspection.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Let me say to the gentleman, since Dewey has been district attorney and LaGuardia has been mayor of the city of New York the racketeers are being sent to jail every day. If that does not satisfy the gentleman, then we shall make him our district attorney.

Mr. HOFFMAN. But not rapidly enough; and if Mr. Dewey is elected President of the United States we can then oust the present Attorney General, who stands for lawlessness, and under the Constitution, with continued proper activity in the district attorney's office more of them will go to jail.

Mr. McKEOUGH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I cannot yield.

Mr. McKEOUGH. I wonder if the gentleman would endorse Mr. Dewey for President of the United States?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I know of no Republican who has been mentioned for that high office who would not be an improvement upon the present occupant.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO], who just preceded me, said that the unemployed have the right to organize. There is no question about that. They have the right to assemble, the right to petition, the right to make known their views; but it does not follow that, because they have those rights, racketeers or grafters should collect from those unfortunate people part of the money that we appropriate here for relief and use it for their own purposes. That is an entirely different thing.

It is bad enough to have the money wasted, used for political corruption, as we know it is, but where we appropriate money to buy food and clothing, and to purchase shelter and provide jobs and then find that it is used for un-American, subversive activities, and it is so used—and I address the gentleman from New York—by officials and members of the Workers Alliance, it is worse beyond comparison.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Does the gentleman imply that funds of W. P. A. are being paid to Workers Alliance officials? Is that what the gentleman is contending?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I will tell the gentleman what I am implying. I am charging now and here that money paid out

of this fund that we appropriate for relief gets into the hands of the Workers Alliance members and is used for un-American and subversive activities. That is what I mean, and I think that is plain enough, and I shall read into the RECORD the testimony to that effect.

I have no way of knowing how many of those engaged in the art project in New York are members of the Workers Alliance. But the record shows that the secretary of a local New York Workers Alliance organization was engaged in subversive activities.

Let me quote for the benefit of the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO] and for the benefit of the House the sworn testimony given on the 20th day of August 1938 before the Dies committee, under oath.

Miss Sallie Saunders, born in Vienna, Austria, a citizen of the United States since 1920, a resident of New York City since 1930, and an employee since March 3, 1936, with the exception of 90 days when she was on leave of absence, of the Federal theater project as an actress, testified, among other things, to the following, and I quote from her testimony, beginning on page 858, volume I, of the hearings:

The CHAIRMAN. You are on the project now?

Miss SAUNDERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the work that you are doing now?

Miss SAUNDERS. As an actress.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen with your eyes evidence of communistic or subversive activities on this particular project?

Miss SAUNDERS. I can only say that literature has been sent around to me personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that Communist literature has been distributed on the premises?

Miss SAUNDERS. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. On one occasion you were called on the telephone. Will you go into the details of that without going too much into it?

Miss SAUNDERS. Yes, sir. On Decoration Day I received a phone call from Mr. Van Cleave.

The CHAIRMAN. This year?

Miss SAUNDERS. Yes, sir; and he asked me for a date. I lived at the Fraternity Club, and there are a great many men there. I thought it was someone I met at the Fraternity Club. I said, "Mr. Van Cleave, I do not remember you; when did I meet you?" He said, "I was the gentleman who sketched you in Sing for Your Supper." I said, "There were 289 people down there, and I do not know more than 25 of them." He said, "I am the fellow who was sketching you." The day before I had noticed a Negro making a sketch of me as I was dancing. He shoved the sketch in my face. I did not know his name and did not know anything about him. All I knew was that a Negro had sketched me. I signed out and left the building. At first I thought it was someone trying to play a joke on me and I became very angry about it and asked how he got my telephone number. He said that he took it from a petition blank or a petition to President Roosevelt which we all signed regarding the \$1,000 pay cut. He took my name and address from that petition.

Mr. MOSIER. How did he know that was your address?

Miss SAUNDERS. He was one of the committee passing it around.

The CHAIRMAN. After that time, when he asked permission to make a date with you, did you report it to the supervisor?

Miss SAUNDERS. I reported it to Mr. Hecht.

The CHAIRMAN. What did Mr. Hecht say to you?

Miss SAUNDERS. He said, "Sallie, I am surprised at you. He has just as much right to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness as you have." He said, "It is in the Constitution." I said, "Mr. Hecht, that happens to be in the preamble to the Constitution."

The CHAIRMAN. Let us not go into that. We know there is feeling in the matter, and we have to be very cautious about race feelings. You reported it to him, and he advised you, in effect, that he was in favor of social equality?

Miss SAUNDERS. According to the Constitution, and there was some press clipping about equal social rights.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you report it to anyone else?

Miss SAUNDERS. I talked it over with Miss Coonan, and she was appalled. I requested for an immediate transfer, which was granted. I then reported the matter through a personal friend to Senator PAT HARRISON.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was Mr. Hecht?

Miss SAUNDERS. Mr. Hecht is in Sing for Your Supper.

The CHAIRMAN. An employee of the Federal project?

Miss SAUNDERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is far enough. Is he connected with the Workers Alliance?

Miss SAUNDERS. Mr. Hecht is of split nationality. He has a card in every organization which has the most power at the moment.

Mr. MOSIER. What is his full name?

Miss SAUNDERS. Harold Hecht.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you report it to Trudy Goodrich?

Miss SAUNDERS. She is a secretary of a Workers Alliance division, and she came to me of her own accord. She said she felt very sorry that I felt that way about it, because she personally en-

couraged Negro attention on all occasions and went out with them or with any Negro who asked her to.

Mr. STARNES. Did she say that it was the policy of the Workers Alliance to do that?

Miss SAUNDERS. She did not say that; but she is a representative of that party, and they hobnob indiscriminately with them, throwing parties with them right and left.

Mr. STARNES. Is that a part of the Communist program?

Miss SAUNDERS. Yes, sir; social equality and race merging.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all. I thank you for your testimony.

"Trudy" is getting a part of this money that we appropriated to buy shoes, clothing, food, shelter, and fuel. "Trudy" goes out with any Negro who asks her. Undoubtedly, as this official said, she exercises her right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." But there is no reason why women and men who work for a daily living should furnish her the money to exercise her right to the "pursuit of happiness."

I was raised near the end of one of the "underground railways" which during prewar days ran from the South to points in the Northern States, over which slaves made their escape, and in one or two townships near my boyhood home the population was predominantly—as we called them—colored people. I went to school with colored boys and girls, sitting in the same classroom with them. My earliest boyhood business venture—catching fish and selling them to sportsmen—was conducted with the aid of a partner who was a colored boy. I played on a high-school baseball team where five of the nine regular players were colored boys. But I venture the statement that very few decent colored or white people believe in intermarriage or in social activities which would tend in that direction.

The things advocated in the testimony to which your attention has just been called are in keeping with the well-known belief that Communists teach and preach—that we do not need churches; that there is no God and that religion is a farce.

I learned, too, in the daily papers during the last campaign that the Communists in Michigan endorsed Attorney General Frank Murphy, when he was a candidate for Governor; that they withheld making nominations in order to further the interests of the New Deal.

I learned more recently that Browder, their candidate for President in 1936, had endorsed Roosevelt for a third term.

Newspapers here advised us that the First Lady of the land attended the convention of the Workers Alliance here in Washington, and by her presence, if she did not sanction, at least she did not disapprove, their activities.

I have yet to learn that Murphy or the President of the United States has repudiated the support of the Communists. Some say that we should not criticize these high officials. Perhaps we should be less critical of them than of others. Nevertheless, if they seek or if they receive support from those who believe in the doctrines to which I have just made reference and they receive that support without a repudiation of those doctrines, they should accept willingly the odium which other people attach to such theories.

The time has come in this country when everyone should take a stand; when he should let all know whether he is for or whether he is against our form of government.

ACTIVITIES WHICH TEND TO NULLIFY THE BENEFITS OF RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS

It is futile to appropriate money to create employment as long as we permit other agencies to create unemployment. Read the article in this week's Collier's by Flynn, showing how, by continually increasing wages and the cost of building construction, that industry is employing less and less men, destroying the jobs on which otherwise men might work.

John L. Lewis and his United Mine Workers have almost ruined the soft-coal industry. By collecting dues and special assessments from the United Mine Workers, Lewis is attempting to extend his rule over the motor and other industries. His purpose is to bring every worker under his jurisdiction, where he can compel every man and woman who works to pay tribute to him.

He talks about the meager and inadequate wage paid to the man who toils, but he was voted a salary of \$25,000 a year, and at times has had as much as \$1,000 expense money per month. The scale on which he lives is not in keeping with his words. He moves in high official society. His United Mine Workers, for the most part, live on wages which he so often claims are inadequate.

While we vote money to create employment, he insists upon taking from those who are working a part of their wages. He uses the funds so collected in such a manner as to create more unemployment.

Just this week he is quoted in the newspapers as stating that there were 11,000,000 able-bodied workers unemployed. He further said in substance that Congress had done "worse than nothing" to solve that problem.

He asserted, if the newspaper article be correct, that the agencies of Congress had been busying themselves "tearing the vitals" out of measures for the unemployed.

The truth of the matter is that Lewis and his C. I. O., with their sit-down strikes, with their strikes demanding that only C. I. O. members be employed, that all others get off the job, have been one of the main factors contributing to and causing the continuation of unemployment.

Today in the State of Wisconsin, where, because of the radical policies of the La Follettes, some 159 men paying an income tax per annum of more than \$300,000 have been driven to seek legal residence elsewhere, where some eight or nine big industries have been driven from the State, there are more than a thousand men idle in the Allis-Chalmers plant because Lewis' affiliates insist that no man can work there until he has paid tribute to John and the C. I. O.

"Tearing the vitals" out of measures for the unemployed, says John of Congress. Oh, no; Lewis and his communistic C. I. O. have been tearing the guts out of industry ever since they seceded from the A. F. of L. and he and his communistic C. I. O. would wreck the A. F. of L. and all decent, patriotic, independent unions.

Lewis is further quoted in the press of the 13th of this month as saying:

When a nation is in crisis, and no leadership appears which can resolve the crisis, the people become disheartened; they turn to the dangerous and irresponsible who, for the sake of power, offer benefits they cannot deliver.

It is true that in times of crisis the people become disheartened. They turned in 1932, because they were disheartened, to a New Deal President, who made many promises which he later disregarded; and, having been disappointed in that President, elected by that great, overwhelming majority, they did, and I quote—

Turn to the dangerous and irresponsible who, for the sake of power, offer benefits they cannot deliver.

Yes, many misguided workers turned to Lewis and to his C. I. O., who, again using the words of Lewis—

Offer benefits they cannot deliver.

Lewis has done much to increase and to continue unemployment and we here in Congress, in my humble judgment, are shirking our responsibility by our failure to amend the Wagner law; to put a crimp in the activities of Lewis, who seems to assume that he has a license to levy tribute upon everyone who would earn an honest living. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Can the gentleman give me some more time?

Mr. DITTER. I am sorry, but all the time has been allotted.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I am sorry, because there is plenty more of it, and I will put it all in the RECORD.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GIFFORD].

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Chairman, 10 minutes is too short a time for any real discussion of this problem. I desired time to bring back to your memories the proceedings of the last 6 years on this matter of relief.

This bill brings a ray of sunshine. I cannot recall such a changed attitude as is now appearing on the part of some Members present. I ask you new Members, if you will, to read the last 6 years of debates on relief, and then if you can recognize in them the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum] you will fully appreciate my reference.

I love that gentleman. He knows it. I appreciate his great abilities. He was formerly the most valiant fighter on the floor of the House for furnishing the administration with a blank check. Formerly he could see very little wrong with the program. While I have been representing the Committee on Expenditures, I have had a hard time with the gentleman. Only 2 years ago he could see only one-seventeenth of 1 percent of boondoggling projects. Only a year ago he questioned Mr. Hopkins and came before the House giving him a clean bill of health, even on political activities. Oh, he was a valiant fighter until he was purged on committee assignment the first of the year. [Laughter.] But at the same time I appreciate him more than he knows. Still having in mind the thrusts that I received from him in my activities, I have a desire to bring to your mind his seeming change of heart. Yesterday he had plenty of fault to find; plenty of criticisms and suggestions, and he acknowledged—

This is the first attempt that the Congress has made to write into the law matters of W. P. A. policy.

Heretofore it has been a blank check; and he often portrayed the 1933 situation. How effectively he pictured the country having fallen into those evil days because of Republicans! I now want him to read the biography of his great Senator from Virginia, if he has not already done so, wherein it proves that practically the whole banking crisis was brought about from the election to the inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Read it and like it!

Someone suggested yesterday that the Committee on Expenditures had been asleep on these investigations. If you will read the RECORD for the last 6 years you will find that some of us were not asleep. Some of us have had plenty to say about it. Some of us have shown these conditions quite accurately, I am sure, and it is pleasing to me, pleasing to the Republicans, that at last they have awakened and are willing to do something about correcting this problem of relief.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I am somewhat concerned about the gentleman's situation and condition, and want in good humor to suggest to him that when I was a child I used, upon occasion, to be afflicted with what is apparently troubling the gentleman now. Mother would give me paregoric for it, and it seemed to be a very efficient remedy.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Chairman, that was a very brilliant remark. The only sort of reply in which the gentleman can take refuge. I have not taken many doses of paregoric. I am not put to sleep in that fashion.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. I think if the gentleman would take some it would help him.

Mr. GIFFORD. I may say to the House that that appears to be the gentleman's usual method of replying on these occasions. I am always in good humor; I simply do not appear to be. I may have a bellyache. The Nation has a decidedly severe bellyache, and the paregoric administered in wholesale doses by the New Deal has only increased its painful condition.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield.

Mr. ENGEL. I would think rather that the country needs paregoric for the legislative indigestion we have had in the last 2 years.

Mr. GIFFORD. If paregoric is the cure, we have had plenty of it.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Does not the gentleman think the gentleman from Virginia is doing a mighty fine thing, bringing in a better bill?

Mr. GIFFORD. I think it a marvelous change of attitude. I shall be glad to vote for the bill. Heretofore he has heckled me and others seriously because we found fault with features of the bills and always said, "Well, why vote for it? Are you afraid not to vote for it?" And I have had to answer, "It is the only bill we have; he is the only President I have, and I must vote for this or nothing."

I favor relief. I believe in relief probably more than he does, judging from his remarks on the floor of the House. I have no trouble in making my neighbors believe that I have a proper viewpoint toward relief; but what a change of attitude yesterday. I cannot yet understand it. The minority views are largely accepted. No more of Mr. Hopkins. You now want a board of three. That is quite a change; and you say now that you are to allocate percentages to the various States; you are to demand larger amounts from the sponsors of projects; and you have cut out and reduced many activities. It is all highly interesting to me, having borne the battle of criticism because of my duties on the Committee on Expenditures.

You often try to tell me, because I criticize somewhat, that I am against it all; yet now I find you coming over to our way of thinking. I am sorry, however, that we must continue to vote such tremendous appropriations. When will this administration wake up? Why not remove the deterrents from private business, those real and psychological deterrents that deprive the people of private jobs? Why will you continue these destructive policies? Remove these and this problem of relief will largely disappear. The Nation cannot much longer endure this spending and borrowing, and the great spender cannot "laugh it off" indefinitely.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I would like to yield but I have not time.

Mr. Chairman, I want to speak of that paragraph in particular which says that any person on relief rolls or on W. P. A. who is offered a private job must take it or his name will be stricken from the rolls. We should amend this section to make it practical and workable. How are you to enforce it? The welfare boards certify the relievers. The list goes to a city far away, and when a project is suggested and perhaps 20 workers are needed the Federal official in that distant city sends 20 men, not of those who need relief the most, but just 20 workers picked largely at random. Suppose you need a man to do a couple of days' work. You go to the foreman. The foreman says, "Why the mason cannot work without helpers, and you will disrupt the work on this project. We cannot let the man go."

Would the man offered a job convict himself by reporting this offer of work? You cannot accomplish results under a Federal bureau situated many miles from the community where the project is being carried on. The intent is commendable and the language is simple, but it will not work out satisfactorily unless further instructions are given. This is yet a democracy. You will have politics in local relief, but you had better have it that way than to have the politics that are carried on by present relief administrators. I am glad to see that paragraph in the bill. Let us make it really workable. I ask you gentlemen: Would you go to a W. P. A. worker who has been on the rolls for a couple of months and say to him, "I have a few days work for you. I demand that you leave W. P. A. or I will report you?" You would not think of doing it, would you? No; for the poor man would have a difficult job in getting back to work although eligible. His place will have been filled. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS].

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, I want to speak on what I am going to call the real works program.

I want to point out that this program has been, over a period of time and due to economic conditions in this country, perhaps the greatest single employment program in all history.

At the outset let me say that ever since I came to Congress I have been urging the passage of a bill setting standards for this program and laying general lines for it to follow. I have always believed Congress should do this and put the program on a long-range, stable basis, improving it, of course, where it needs improvement.

I want to point out that this Works Progress Administration has been called upon at all times to hire a portion only of those people who could not find jobs in private enterprise; that from time to time great groups of people have had to be dismissed from employment because the Congress appropriated only such and such an amount of money; then, all of a sudden, some great numbers would have to be added to the rolls because of a larger appropriation. I want to point out that not a single project can be undertaken by this Works Progress Administration unless sponsored by a local agency. All I am pointing out is that we have made a great, far-flung effort to meet unemployment in a decent manner, and it has been done very well on the whole, and against tremendous odds.

Mr. Chairman, may I remind the House that New York City is not the United States, and that isolated instances where things have been wrong, as I admit they have in a few cases been wrong, do not constitute anything like a true picture of this great program.

THE REAL W. P. A. WORKER

The person I am interested in is the one I am going to call the average project worker. He is not a hypothetical individual to me. He is a man in whose home I have been and he has been to my home. He has come to my office to ask if I cannot help him get a job in private industry and get off of the program. He has come to ask if I cannot help him be sure he can keep his W. P. A. job so that he will not have to go on direct relief. He has never come to ask less work and more relief; he has always come asking more work and less relief.

What kind of a man is he? He is a man about 48 years of age on the average. He is a man who in many, many cases has lost his job in private industry because of being that old. He has a wife and family, is usually renting a place or trying to hang on to the little home he has. He is no more a Communist, Nazi, or anything like that than you and I are. He is a good, earnest American who is trying his best to prevent going on direct relief. He does not want to.

THE QUESTION

The question that we have to decide over and over again when we face these propositions is whether we are going to "spend" this man in order to save money and make dollars valuable or whether we are going to spend money and take pains to have a good program in order to save him and make American lives valuable.

THE GOOD THINGS WE DID NOT HEAR

We might have heard in the course of this debate, but I have not heard it, about the miles of road that W. P. A. workers have built. We might have heard about the schoolhouses they have built, and about the community centers they have built. We might have heard about the flood-control works they have built. We might have heard about the national emergencies in which they were called out and rendered great assistance. We might have heard, in connection with some of the white-collar projects, about the community-center developments and the art projects. We might have read the New York Times, which published about the Federal Theater Project, the following:

Although the Federal Theater is far from perfect, it has kept an average of 10,000 people employed on work that has helped to lift the dead weight from the lives of millions of Americans. It has been the best friend the theater as an institution has ever had in this country. It has brought the theater and people together realistically. In short, it deserves to be rescued from

partisan politics which, on the one hand, are creeping into its administration and, on the other, are threatening to put it out of business.

Mr. Chairman, I have never seen a play by a Federal Theater Project in my life, but I do think that constructive kind of evidence ought to be submitted.

We should have heard also about the millions of people, who throughout the years have been saved from relief, from defeat, from helplessness, with their skill preserved, and a lot of things like that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield to the gentleman from New Mexico.

Mr. DEMPSEY. In connection with the Federal Theater Project, the Dies committee investigated that situation very thoroughly. So far as the director of that project is concerned, she came voluntarily to the committee and gave us free, clear testimony. She is not a Communist, nor a "fellow traveler." She is a highly efficient, splendid American woman. [Applause.]

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Chairman, we have heard something about the States taking advantage of this program. May I say a word on behalf of my own State of California? Some figures have been submitted to me a couple of days ago from the State of California and we find that out of every hundred employable unemployed people duly certified and ready to go on W. P. A., 45 of those people are being carried right now by our State relief administration in addition to all the direct relief load which our local agencies are carrying. Therefore I do not believe the State of California has taken advantage in any way at all. I am also proud to state that in the southern California administration district, the administrator of that district informed me a few days ago that he had succeeded in the last 3 months in cutting his administrative expense by the amount of \$12,000 a month. This corresponds to other work that Colonel Harrington is doing all over the country where we find that the administrative expense which formerly was \$72,000,000 per year has been cut to \$45,000,000.

NO POLITICAL ADVANTAGE TO BE TAKEN OF WORKERS

On page 28, paragraph (b), you will find the following language:

(b) Except as may be required by the provisions of subsection (b) of section 31 hereof, it shall be unlawful for any person to deprive, attempt to deprive, or threaten to deprive, by any means, any person of any employment, position, work, compensation, or other benefit, provided for or made possible by this title, on account of race, creed, color, or any political activity, support of, or opposition to any candidate or any political party in any election.

Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of that provision. I think it is protective of the worker on the project and I believe it is a good thing to have that provision in there. May I say very plainly, as I have said before, if there are cases, as has been charged, where the Communist Party or any similar group has managed to get control of these projects so that it could favor its own members and discriminate against others, then the administration in charge of the W. P. A. should act at once and in no uncertain terms to clean up such situation. I have absolute confidence that Colonel Harrington is the type of man who will do exactly that thing. I am just as much against that as any Member of the House. In fact, I am more against that than some gentlemen of the minority who can only find two or three instances, and may wish they could find more so it would be easier to discredit the whole program.

What we are trying to do in this country is solve a great economic problem and make a great adjustment to the difficult conditions of the machine age. It is going to take time, because we live in a democracy and are devoted to democratic methods. While we are taking time to solve that problem in a democratic manner, we must see to it that the burden of our failure or our inability to solve it more quickly does not fall with crushing weight on any group of people. Our first duty is to those people who are most helpless economically. I believe there is a divine justice in this universe which

will keep the destiny of any nation which determines to do that and which will eventually strike down a nation that tries to ride on to prosperity and leave one-fifth of its people behind.

A PROGRAM FAIR TO ALL

I want a fair program, without any political interference and without discrimination against people on that ground. I think I am selfish in this, because my own personal experience about that matter has been that the Republicans have been far cleverer at utilizing politically our supposedly Democratic administration set-up than the Democrats have been. That is only my own experience.

In this bill we have provisions to protect W. P. A. workers from being used politically by anybody. I believe these provisions are, on the whole, good, and I am glad the committee put them in the bill. I am glad they put in the bill the provision that any supervisor should take an oath of allegiance to the Nation. I do not believe anybody will object to that.

W. P. A. SHOULD CERTIFY

I wish the committee had gone a little bit further in the matter of certification. As a matter of fact, I wish we could have a program where the W. P. A. did its own certifying of people instead of being dependent on local agencies to do that certifying in certain cases. If you analyze the situation, that is really the thing the gentleman from Massachusetts and the gentleman from New York complain about. It is not the W. P. A. that is at fault, it is the local certifying agency in most cases that they have complained of.

Now there is a provision at the top of page 19 that I think is much too severe. It says no one in receipt of any social-security benefits can work on W. P. A. Such a provision assumes that payments to mothers of dependent children, for example, are enough to keep body and soul together, which just simply is not the case. Theoretically, those mothers should be able to stay at home. Actually, they may need W. P. A. work as desperately as anyone in all America.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I am sorry, I wish to complete my statement. I will try to yield in a minute.

A GOOD PROGRAM

I want a good program, one the people will be proud to work on, one that will accomplish as much good as possible. I believe the requirement in the bill for 130 hours a month is all right. I think it probably could have been done before.

I am in favor of the provision that people hired on projects shall be able to perform the work in a satisfactory manner, though I must strongly point out that this in turn makes necessary a wide variety of projects and is one of the very strongest arguments for the continuance of the white-collar and arts projects since these provide for people who cannot do other types of work effectively in most cases.

The provision that a W. P. A. worker who takes private employment shall be "entitled to immediate resumption of his previous employment status with the Works Projects Administration" when he loses the private job is very important, and, if it can be carried out effectively, will do more than anything I know to remove barriers to people getting off W. P. A. whenever possible.

But the committee's provision that W. P. A. projects be limited to \$25,000 each is, to my mind, exactly the wrong thing to do. Wherever a community can do so I think it should use P. W. A. instead of W. P. A. for heavy construction. But I have said I wanted a good W. P. A. projects program—one that will add to our national wealth as much as possible. This \$25,000 limitation makes that sort of program impossible and will mean a return to leaf-raking and similar things, which in turn will give the dole advocates another talking point against work for the unemployed.

Furthermore, the flat requirement that everyone who has been employed more than 18 months must immediately be fired will not only mean that some 600,000 heads of families

will have to be put back on a dole within a few days but will also give the Administrator an utterly impossible task. Not a project in the Nation but will be to some degree disrupted by this arbitrary requirement. And does anyone think that anyone getting W. P. A. wages can possibly have saved up a thin dime to tide him over the 60-day period required before he can even get consideration to get back on the program? I know what the committee is driving at, I think. They will argue that since—tragically enough—there has never been nearly room enough on W. P. A. for all who needed the work, therefore it should be passed around, and those who have had it longest should from time to time give way to others in equal need. Just what the people laid off will do I do not know, but I suppose I must admit that without question others are in as great need. I shall offer an amendment to this section which will be administratively possible and which will at least eliminate the terribly harsh requirement of the committee that all of a sudden some 600,000 families must tighten their already very tight belts and go for 60 days without work for their breadwinners.

ALERT, STRONG ADMINISTRATION

I want an alert, strong administration, too, and that is exactly the kind I am convinced Colonel Harrington is going to give us. I have already submitted evidence, and so have other Members, to prove this.

THE MAIN QUESTION

But most of all I want enough jobs to meet the needs of these people—several thousands of them in my own district, my friends, people I know well. I want them to have a chance to work, to help build America—a better, finer America—and, Members of the House, the older people now on W. P. A. just cannot look forward right away to any other job. So I will vote for the Casey amendment, which will give these jobs which I know are needed so much.

WHAT THE BILL MEANS

This bill as it stands will make necessary a 40-percent cut in W. P. A. rolls from last March to next September 1. If the P. W. A. funds are to be taken out of W. P. A., this cut must be that much deeper.

The bill has economized at the expense of our young people, too. N. Y. A. has certainly not been an expensive program. One hundred and fifteen dollars per year per young person has helped thousands through school and thousands more to prepare for jobs. Here, if anywhere, in maintaining the morale of our young people, we have an evident patriotic duty. I shall therefore certainly support the amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLINS] to restore the Budget figure for N. Y. A.

I could go on, Mr. Chairman. I have studied this bill carefully. It has some good provisions and some that I think are wrong, because they would hurt this works program terribly. I have not spoken of the most vital work of farm security nor of P. W. A., for which I believe we must pass a special bill before this session closes instead of trying to deal with it in left-handed fashion in this bill.

May I conclude by saying that no one in the House is more interested than I in solving the problem of our Budget and of the increase of business activity and production. But that solution will never be found in cutting people off from their livelihood or in trying to pretend that Congress can escape a terrible responsibility in these matters. I might wish we did not have such a responsibility. I have argued here for measures which I am sure would go far to solve this unemployment problem. But so long as we have that problem we cannot run from it or shut our eyes to it. We must face it courageously. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. ROBSON].

Mr. ROBSON of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, I wish to commend our colleague [Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia] and other members of the Appropriations Committee for the information they have brought to us through their investigation of

the relief problem and for what I consider constructive amendments in the administration of relief and the safeguards that they have thrown around those who need relief. It is the purpose of Congress and the taxpayers to provide relief money to those who need relief. The people of the Nation desire that politics, partiality, chiseling, and fraud be taken out of relief. We must not permit politics to capitalize human misery.

I saw relief funds in action to control the votes of needy people in my congressional election in 1934. It was more in evidence in the Governor's election in Kentucky in 1935. I saw it used even in the county local option election in my own district in 1935. And every time a relief bill has come up for consideration since that time I have denounced such action and urged provisions in the relief bill that would protect the needy people as well as the taxpayers of the country against such unlawful and contemptible practices. The use of relief funds in this way has developed into a national scandal. The Congress provided for relief for the fiscal year beginning June 30, 1938, and ending June 30, 1939, approximately \$2,200,000,000. This was \$740,000,000 more than was used for relief the previous fiscal year, yet the President and those in charge of relief were demanding more and more relief money.

The use of relief money for corrupt political purposes reached a new high in the political campaigns in Kentucky and the Nation in 1938. As some evidence of the way it operated, Pennsylvania, with 9,000,000 of population, received \$14,000,000 or more of relief money, a sum in excess of that received by 11 of the so-called Southern States, with a population of 28,000,000. New York City received more relief than the 11 Southern States. The relief money was poured out most generously in the so-called big Republican States of the North and East. Of course, a large part of the money was used in attempts to dominate and intimidate and corrupt the voters of those States.

You recall we had a very hot senatorial campaign in Kentucky. Our Democratic Governor was a candidate against a Democratic Member of the Senate for the Democratic nomination in the primary held August 1938. On May 23, 1938, Judge Brady M. Stewart, State campaign manager for Governor Chandler, wrote a letter to President Roosevelt making a strong appeal to him to stop the scandalous action of those in charge of the W. P. A. in Kentucky. Mark you, Judge Stewart was not and is not a Republican. He is an outstanding Democratic leader from Senator BARKLEY's home town. Among other things, he stated to the President:

You—

Referring to the President—

will not countenance the use of the taxpayers' money, set aside to feed the hungry of the Nation, to be employed in this Commonwealth in such a manner as to create a public scandal.

Judge Stewart evidently was wrong in this assumption, because so far as the record disclosed, the President took no action to prevent this very thing.

Judge Stewart states further in his letter to the President:

For the first time in our observation the Works Progress Administration, which was conceived and established to feed the families of the unemployed, irrespective of the politics, race, or creed of those to be served through its directing heads, is seeking to drive hungry and destitute people to vote for a certain candidate for office. Meetings and conferences have been held in practically every county of the State by keymen in places of importance with the Works Progress Administration, at which definite instructions were given to selected agents that no one should be placed on Federal relief except upon the advice of Senator BARKLEY's campaign managers in the respective counties. Furthermore, these same agents have been required to inform all those individuals who seek Federal assistance that unless they are for the candidate for Senator whom the heads of the relief administration are supporting, there will be neither relief funds nor jobs for them.

Employees of the Works Progress Administration have been approached for campaign donations for Senator BARKLEY, and they have been sharply informed that if they did not give the amounts demanded they would be discharged immediately from their jobs. Very competent men and women have been released from the Works Progress Administration because they would not consent to use their positions and influence to force people to vote for Senator Barkley. Republicans have been instructed by agents of

the Works Progress Administration to change their registration and vote for Senator BARKLEY on penalty of being released therefrom in case of refusal. Works Progress Administration trucks are being used openly to haul relief workers to the county court clerk's office to register.

And Judge Stewart further says:

Persons are being employed who do no definite work, but are instructed to spend their entire time in political activity. Practically every Federal project is topheavy with foremen, part of whom confine their time and attention to keeping certain men definitely in line for Senator BARKLEY, part of whom spend their time checking up on the loyalty to Senator BARKLEY of men already placed on the Works Progress Administration, and part of whom spend their time going from one section of the State to another on definite political missions. A tremendous waste of money is the result of this arrangement.

Judge Stewart further continues in his indictment:

* * * It is unthinkable that any relief agency of the Federal Government engaged in a charitable and humanitarian task would be deliberately prostituted by politicians for the benefit of a man seeking office. The Works Progress Administration in Kentucky has been converted into an out-and-out political machine, dedicated over and above all other considerations to reelecting Senator BARKLEY. Those with starving mouths to feed are forced to surrender their one remaining privilege of choosing for whom they shall vote, otherwise they and their dependents must go hungry and naked.

Judge Stewart speaks of it as "a public scandal," and he comments:

It is unthinkable that any relief agency of the Federal Government, engaged in a charitable and humanitarian task, would be deliberately prostituted by politicians.

He concludes his bitter indictment by using these words:

Those with starving mouths to feed are forced to surrender their one remaining privilege of choosing for whom they shall vote, otherwise they and their dependents must go hungry and naked.

Judge Stewart points out—

Persons are being employed who do no definite work but are instructed to spend their entire time in political activity. Practically every Federal project is top-heavy with foremen. Part of them confine their time and attention to keeping certain men definitely in line for Senator BARKLEY, and part of them spend their time going from one part of the State to another on definite political commissions.

Judge Stewart further stated that keymen were given places of importance in W. P. A. with definite instructions to select agents. The instructions to these selected agents were that no one should be placed on Federal relief except on the advice of these campaign managers in the respective counties. And these agents—W. P. A. officeholders and keymen—were required to inform all individuals seeking Federal assistance that they could not secure this relief or assistance unless they supported this candidate. I took occasion in June 1938, in a speech on the floor of the House, to point out what was going on in Kentucky, and I then placed in the RECORD Judge Stewart's letter to the President.

These scandalous and utterly despicable and heartless methods of coercing the voters, of depriving poor people of the liberty of action in voting for their representatives and wringing dollars from the meager incomes of those on W. P. A., were further exposed by the reporter of a newspaper syndicate. He submitted names, cases, and circumstances and supported his statements by affidavits. Did the W. P. A. or the President of the United States move to remedy the situation and punish those guilty of preying upon these poor people on relief in Kentucky? They did not. Hon. Harry L. Hopkins, W. P. A. Administrator, together with Hon. George H. Goodman, W. P. A. administrator for Kentucky, investigated these charges and denied everything and promptly found themselves not guilty. They were unable to find anything wrong in the administration of W. P. A. in Kentucky, yet it was so notorious and open that a person deaf, blind, and dumb could have known something about it. The Senate Investigating Committee, under Senator SHEPPARD, a Democrat of Texas, found ample evidence of conditions in Kentucky to support the charges in the newspaper referred to, but Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Goodman promptly disagreed with the Sheppard committee. They insisted

there was nothing wrong with the administration of W. P. A. in Kentucky. They claimed that the administrators and foremen, overseers, timekeepers, and superintendents were not working in the interest of Senator BARKLEY. To support their plea of innocence, the Sheppard committee was furnished copies of orders and letters sent out by the Kentucky W. P. A. administrator and Mr. Goodman. Among these orders which found a place in the Sheppard committee files was one under date of March 3, 1938, in which State Administrator Goodman warned all W. P. A. administrators and supervisory employees that—

No employee of the W. P. A. in Kentucky shall respond to any requests for lists of names or other timekeeping information except that specially permitted by rules and regulations established by this administration.

Then followed a number of letters passing between Mr. Aubrey Williams, Deputy Administrator of W. P. A., and the Sheppard committee and Mr. Goodman, all showing that Mr. Goodman was moving heaven and earth to prevent any politics from creeping into the administration of W. P. A. in the State of Kentucky.

Now, keeping in mind that order of Mr. Goodman's of March 3, and all of these other letters and notices, I wish to read to you a letter written by Mr. Goodman, W. P. A. administrator of Kentucky, dated Louisville, Ky., May 23, 1938, marked "Personal" to Mr. Ernest Rowe, director of the W. P. A. office, Lexington, Ky. This letter is as follows:

DEAR MR. ROWE: In connection with contributions, the following general plan has been worked out:

You are to find a high-grade man who is interested in politics and strong for Senator BARKLEY to serve as finance chairman for your district and to discuss with employees, either in person or by mail, the matter of assisting financially in the campaign.

Lists of administrative and supervisory employees, giving monthly earnings and home addresses will be supplied you to be given your campaign finance chairman. It is suggested that 2 percent of annual earnings is a fair contribution. There will be no discrimination against an employee who, because of unusual home expenses or other reasons, does not feel able to assist financially in the campaign. A record should be kept of all persons contributing and the amount contributed, as well as reasons given for not contributing.

Cash or checks issued to "Cash" must be given and should be deposited in a lock box until such time as funds are transmitted to the State campaign chairman.

It is permissible to deduct from contributions sufficient funds to pay all necessary expenses, such as supplies, postage, etc., and to pay your campaign chairman for his time if that is found necessary.

Employees should be advised by word of mouth, through holders of key positions, the name of your finance chairman and the fact that he will approach them about contributions.

I know that employees of this organization will welcome the opportunity to assist Senator BARKLEY at this time.

Yours truly,

GEO. H. GOODMAN.

The W. P. A. in its investigation of itself was unable to find this letter and apparently it seems also to have escaped the scrutiny of the senatorial investigating committee, but the subcommittee headed by our colleague [Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia] that has been investigating the W. P. A. secured a photostatic copy of this letter, and State Administrator Goodman's signature was established as genuine beyond a doubt.

Mr. Goodman, so far as I have ever heard, has made no effort to deny writing this and another letter that I shall read to you. The director, Mr. Rowe, admits that he received these letters from Mr. Goodman. Mr. Goodman, who had warned all of his subordinates having anything to do with politics, was writing here to a subordinate, one of the inner circle, instructing him that a "general plan" had been worked out and that a man "strong for Senator BARKLEY" was to serve as finance chairman for the Lexington district. Lists of names of the W. P. A. people were to be given to this finance chairman. The amount of contribution had been settled at 2 percent of the annual income or wages of the W. P. A. workers. They were not satisfied to take 2 percent for the weeks or months during the campaign, they must have 2 percent of a year's wages or salary. These collectors of campaign funds were warned that they must

approach the relief workers "by word of mouth" through holders of "key positions." They were to whisper to these relief workers the name of the "high mogul" that would call upon them and relieve them of 2 percent of their yearly wages. All checks were to be made payable to "Cash"—so that they would not show the name of the person receiving these funds.

The letter of Judge Stewart, the activity of certain newspapers, and perhaps the Sheppard Senate committee evidently caused another letter to be written by Mr. Goodman to Mr. Ernest Rowe, director of the W. P. A. in the Lexington district. I now read you that letter. It is as follows:

I know you have no correspondence in your files that would violate the W. P. A. regulations and instructions in connection with political matters. However, I suggest that anything you may have that would even appear to an uninformed person to involve us in politics be destroyed.

There is much correspondence that has accumulated with various persons directly engaged in political activities that required consideration and an answer on our part. That part of it which carries a meaning which would subject us to criticism by the wrong interpretation should be removed.

Yours truly,

GEO. H. GOODMAN.

Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Goodman, and others connected with the W. P. A. were unable to find this letter of June 27, 1938. The senatorial investigation also missed it, but the subcommittee headed by Mr. WOODRUM dug it up. Is it not passing strange that Mr. Goodman, knowing that he had written the letter to Director Rowe of May 23, 1938, should say to Mr. Rowe in his letter of June 28:

You have no correspondence in your files that would violate the W. P. A. regulations and instructions in connection with political matters.

But nevertheless he advises Mr. Rowe that if there is any such letter or document in his files that would involve "us" in politics, it "be destroyed." Is there no penalty for destroying the records of the W. P. A.?

Relief as it has been administered in many sections of the country has not only been prostituted to corrupt, partisan politics but in this case factional, Democratic politics was not satisfied with intimidating and oppressing the needy of the Nation and in taking from them the small sum that they received as salaries or wages in Kentucky. It has grown bolder and bolder, and now here we have a State administrator urging a director of W. P. A. under him to destroy the records of his office. I wish to express my sincere appreciation for the action of Mr. WOODRUM's subcommittee in bringing to light the activities of the Communists in connection with the W. P. A. The Communists are the dictators and controllers of W. P. A. in some sections of our country. Mr. WOODRUM told us in his very able and eloquent address to the House yesterday "everybody seemed to know about these communistic activities except the administration here in Washington." It has been disclosed that a majority of the leaders of the Workers Alliance are Communists. Some of them have gone to Russia and received special instructions from the Communist Government of Russia.

Of course, I am against communism because it is against our country and the Stars and Stripes. I am against communism for other reasons. It is the enemy of religion. It is against religion and religion is the mother of philanthropy and charity. The Great Book tells us that religion pure and undefiled is visiting the widows and the fatherless and keeping ourselves unspotted from the world. Religion gives to us humanity and the milk of human kindness. Communism is bad for our country. We consider it such an enemy as to justify the deportation of any alien who is a member of that organization because our Government has recognized the fact that the Communist organization favors the overthrow of this Government by violence. Happily, communism does not infest every section of our country. How can we characterize the effect on the welfare of our country by taking billions out of the pockets of the taxpayers of the country, and these taxes are paid by the needy and the poor, the

widow and the orphan, as well as those who are in good circumstances, and then permit them to be used to intimidate and oppress the needy and to corrupt the electorate of this country?

As I had occasion to say some 2 or 3 years ago in urging that relief be taken out of politics, "When we use this huge sum for partisan purposes we are digging at the very foundations of this Nation," and we now know that this conduct has been going on in practically every community and voting precinct throughout the Nation.

Talk about the Bill of Rights, free government, clean government, and honest administration. My colleagues, we have before us the evidence in black and white that all of these cherished traditions of America were cast aside in these un-American political activities. The Bill of Rights has been flaunted, free and clean government has been jeered, and honest administration has been overturned, as these W. P. A. administrators, supervisors, and stooges have been going gleefully about their work of forcing helpless people on relief to do as they dictate and to stand and deliver out of their paltry wages whatever amount they were forced to give.

Communism has never reached my State. There is no place big enough in all Kentucky for the red flag of communism to be raised. It has not been raised and it will not be raised, but by conduct like that of W. P. A. politicians, using the taxpayers' money to browbeat and take away the right of honest people to vote, and have their food and clothing depend upon what some politician is willing to hand out, and this is going on in nearly every community in America, we are striking this Government a harder blow than communism. I want relief and old-age pensions taken out of politics.

But you will never take it out so long as the Goodmans and others remain in relief. You have to take the politicians out of relief before you can take relief out of politics. I commend this committee for writing into this bill rigid provisions and penalties against any person who would undertake to intimidate, browbeat, or corrupt the men and women of America.

Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Yes.

Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky. I understand that the gentleman has quoted one Ernest Rowe.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Yes.

Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky. Does the gentleman know who he was or is?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Yes. I have heard of him.

Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky. Did the gentleman know that he was fined in Kentucky for operating a motor vehicle while drunk, and that when he was arrested and they took him to jail and he thought they were putting him in a hotel?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Never heard that until now.

Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky. And the next morning when they took him out he pleaded guilty?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. That is bad, but it is not nearly so bad as Mr. Goodman and others trying to coerce W. P. A. workers and take the few dollars that they get with which to buy something to eat and wear to finance one faction of the Democratic Party.

Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky. And he pleaded guilty and gave the judge a cold check, and they had an awful time collecting on that check.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. He was honest enough to plead guilty. Well, I have never heard of Mr. Goodman denying he wrote the letters to Rowe I have read here today.

Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky. And the gentleman is quoting a self-confessed criminal.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. No. I am quoting from these letters written by Mr. Goodman. He does not deny them; and does my colleague from Kentucky mean to tell me that it is not worse to take this money from the needy of Kentucky

and write to one of his directors to destroy the records of his own office?

I have no unkind feeling toward Mr. Goodman. I think he, as many others, was forced to take this action by his superiors in order to save his job. This bill will protect him and others from such demands of politicians.

I thank you. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN]

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I cannot say very much in the time allotted to me. I have not taken the floor on this question heretofore, or 2 years ago, because I did not think it was necessary. I think it is vitally necessary now because in following the debate I have heard so much said about New York. There seems to be always somebody ready to pick on New York. The worthy chairman of the subcommittee said in answer to a question yesterday that 85 percent of the trouble is in New York. I challenge that statement, coming as it does even from the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM]. The whole trouble is that we are all a little bit hysterical and that each one is blaming the other for difficulties we were not able to cure and take care of. The fact of the matter is that New York, in my opinion, is one of the cleanest cities in the United States, as compared by population. New York State has contributed more wealth to the United States, and paid more money in taxes, than any other State in the Union. If you will take the trouble to go through certain tables, however, you will find that in certain States of the Union where they contribute twenty or twenty-five million dollars in taxes, they have taken out of the Treasury of the United States some two hundred or two hundred and twenty-five million, while New York always got much less than it contributed.

The trouble with this whole bill is that it is based on improper testimony before this committee, and before I go into the merits of the W. P. A. itself I call attention to the fact that the bill is predicated in its present form on testimony which is not based on facts or truth. If the truth were known, we would have an entirely different bill before the House now, a bill which would give adequate relief. If I have my rights, then sometime during the course of the 5 minutes' debate I shall vote for an amendment to make the amount \$2,500,000,000. This country is getting the benefit of honest labor of men and women who are out of work through no fault of their own. I agree with some statements made by my colleagues that we ought to get politics out of relief and that no group of men should have the right to dictate the policy of relief.

Mr. Chairman, in the nearly 17 years that I have been privileged to be a Member of this House I have never been called on before to make an address on a measure, the provisions of which are so vicious as those of the bill now before us. Those provisions are designed to starve thousands of self-respecting Americans for periods of 60 days at regular intervals. Their purpose is to make it impossible for the agency that the country expects to relieve the suffering of the poor and distressed to carry out effectively the work imposed on it by Congress. In my opinion these provisions were adopted by the framers of this measure for the purpose of making work relief a failure. This is not a relief bill; it is a starvation bill.

Before proceeding to discuss some of the more important of these provisions, I feel it my duty to draw attention to the way in which the investigation of the W. P. A. has been conducted. This so-called investigation is supposed to be the basis of this present bill. The House has been led to believe that the W. P. A. has been impartially investigated by a subcommittee appointed for that purpose. The House has been led to believe that the information gathered by the committee is such as will permit the committee and the House to form an intelligent and fair-minded judgment on the broad principles governing work relief. Let us see how this investigation has been conducted.

In my city the investigation has been in charge of a bankrupt lawyer of Washington. This bankrupt lawyer no less than 2 weeks prior to the time he was appointed to investigate the W. P. A. had been rejected as a W. P. A. employee because he did not have the qualifications which were thought necessary. Can you imagine this, gentlemen? This bankrupt lawyer, this man whose background and experience have been such as to give him no foundation on which he could judge the effectiveness of a vast administrative machine, was sent from Washington to New York City. We have plenty of bankrupt lawyers in New York City. There was no need to send another. We have plenty of persons on relief. There was no need to provide a job for a man in Washington and send him to New York. Can you imagine with what feeling such a person, one who had been rejected by an organization, because of his lack of qualifications, would be called to investigate that same organization? Can you imagine with what satisfaction he approached the problem? Can you imagine with what eagerness he looked in all the garbage pails to see what choice morsels he could find to exhibit to the Congress and the public? And it is on the basis of such an investigation, at least in my home city, that you are being asked to vote on the bill which is now before you. Not only did this man not have the qualifications to pass on major administrative matters of vital importance to the welfare of hundreds of thousands—yes, even millions of people—but he made no attempt to discover or investigate the real broad issues affecting the problem. He contented himself with listening to the mouthings of disgruntled and discharged employees, of disappointed contractors, and others who had not been able to swerve the W. P. A. from its proper course; persons whose only motivation had been that of personal gain. Colonel Harrington in his testimony called attention to the ridiculous and untruthful statements made by the principle witness produced by this investigator in connection with the rental of equipment in New York City. Colonel Somervell, the local administrator in New York City, gave the real facts to the public.

It is an insult to the committee and to the Congress to have such testimony presented to it. Perhaps this lawyer-investigator is extremely stupid. Perhaps he has some connection with these contractors which he has not revealed to the committee. Fantastic statements were made by this man. He offered to prove to the committee that certain decrepit trucks and museum pieces were working satisfactorily by showing them a picture of a truck. This preposterous procedure was received without even a smile by the committee. This man tried to make the committee believe that the United States had suffered a loss, whereas the Government was actually saved from being swindled by persons who were trying to foist upon it ancient equipment which would not or could not do the work required.

Other testimony of this investigator in connection with other cases is equally absurd. Let us see what some of the things introduced by him amounted to. He quotes one J. N. Parrot as having resigned from the W. P. A. because of insufferable labor practices in the W. P. A. Actually this man was fired. He was only permitted to resign so that his discharge would not prevent him from obtaining a position elsewhere. His statement concerning his resignation is completely untrue. What credence can be placed on this kind of testimony? Remember, gentlemen, that your committee has never called the responsible W. P. A. officials to give the true picture of this situation.

Let us look at some more of the testimony on which this bill is based. Mr. Ralph Hale, of the General Accounting Office, appeared before the committee and gave it the benefit of some of the most garrulous gossip which it has ever been my misfortune to have to peruse. The chairman of the committee had to set Mr. Hale straight on his facts with regard to the distribution of duties between the W. P. A. and the Procurement Division of the United States Treasury Department. Mr. Hale stated that he thought that payments for certain equipment were made from W. P. A. funds. Imagine an accountant of the Comptroller General's Office not know-

ing whether the payments on which he was making an official report to Congress were made from W. P. A. funds or not.

Mr. Hale gave the committee a long recital of what W. P. A. does and had done to prevent and discourage irregularities, and at the same time he tried to give the committee the impression that he himself had been responsible for this action.

Most of Mr. Hale's testimony was ancient history, and it was only when he was driven to confessing it by a member of the committee that he admitted that most of the circumstances that he was discussing took place over 2 years ago.

Practically all of Mr. Hale's information came from the W. P. A. audit department, which is really responsible for his so-called disclosures. It is difficult to see how a responsible Federal official, informed of the necessity of supporting his statements with facts, and conscious of the trust imposed in him, could so completely overlook his obligation to furnish real evidence.

Some 620,000 vouchers have been paid by the Treasury Department for W. P. A. purchases and rentals in New York City. Exceptions have been taken to only 7,723, or about 1¼ percent of the total. This is a marvelous record in itself, but it is not complete. Only 1 voucher out of the 620,000 which have been presented for audit to the Comptroller General's Office has not been passed.

Some of the things to which Mr. Hale himself takes exception have been passed by his superiors. Major LaGuardia has publicly characterized some of Hale's testimony as a damnable lie. This, gentlemen, is the kind of investigation which is being conducted by your investigators.

Let us look at some more of this so-called testimony. Messrs. Stephens and Hein, two engineers engaged on the investigation, made a very cursory examination of a few projects and as a result of this examination stated that the work was costing two and one-half times what it should. Let us look at the facts. Let us look at the way in which some of these conclusions of these so-called experts were arrived at.

They stated that it would cost \$106,000 to finish some road work which they inspected in the Borough of Queens, whereas the work was actually finished for a little more than \$40,000. In other words, they stated that the cost of the work was two and one-half times what it actually did cost. No wonder that their calculations showed that W. P. A. work was costing two and one-half times what it should have cost.

Let us look further into the calculations by these two experts. They compared the cost of constructing one building with another building of quite a different character. Even if we are not engineers we know that you cannot compare apples and bananas, nor can you compare the cost of building the United States Capitol with another building of very different design and construction. The cost of the Empire State Building and the cost of the Chrysler Building are reliably reported to have been from about 85 cents to \$1 per cubic foot. The cubic contents of the buildings being constructed by the W. P. A. at North Beach is about the same as that of the Empire State Building, yet the cost of the buildings being constructed by the W. P. A. is just about half the reported cost of the Empire State Building. Is the W. P. A. twice as efficient as the builders of the Empire State Building? Of course not. I merely tell you this to show you how ridiculous some of the comparisons made by these so-called experts have been. These experts failed to compare the cost of the W. P. A. buildings with the other buildings used in their testimony on a square-foot basis. Why was this I wonder? Because the W. P. A. costs on a square-foot basis were approximately the same as those of the other buildings and W. P. A. would have shown up to good advantage. These experts take the cost to one date and the percentage of completion of the jobs to another and arrive at figures which necessarily show to the disadvantage of the W. P. A. They stated that the W. P. A. building at the World's Fair was on a cubic-foot contract. It was not on a contract nor was it on a cubic-foot basis, except insofar as our so-called experts put it so.

Our experts did not take into consideration the fact that W. P. A. work must be carried on in all kinds of weather,

fair or foul; that its skilled employees work only a few hours per month; that W. P. A. must keep cost per man at a minimum and thus must use a small amount of equipment. All of these matters are those which any fair-minded man making a just comparison would have used in his calculations.

I am told that these experts report that someone sent them some "screwballs." Apparently they do not even have a sense of humor to recommend them.

There has been some talk by our bankrupt lawyer about the relations of the W. P. A. with the American Federation of Labor in New York City. Anyone but a greenhorn would know that practically all of the building mechanics in New York City come from the American Federation of Labor, that practically all of these men belong to American Federation locals. In other words, if the W. P. A. is to get skilled mechanics to supplement those on relief, it of necessity must obtain practically all of them from the American Federation of Labor.

This ignorant and prejudiced testimony is what the Members of this House are required to use in making up their minds as to what is going on in the W. P. A. in my home city. I know how foolish it is and must take this occasion to let the House know.

Any real examination of the effectiveness of the program should be directed to the extent to which the Works Progress Administration has provided relief to those in dire need, the usefulness of the public projects on which it has been engaged, the cost and efficiency of the Administration, the effectiveness with which the projects have been conducted, and the honesty and integrity of the Administration.

In any given consideration of the effectiveness of the program we must pay attention to the limitations imposed on it by the temporary nature of the legislation authorizing the work. We must pay attention to the necessity for keeping the cost per man per year at a low figure. The amount appropriated for the Works Progress Administration has at no time been sufficient to provide for all of the unemployed, nor even all of those persons on home relief in New York City. At the present time there are some 160,000 people on home relief in New York City, and yet this bill, by earmarking \$125,000,000 for the Public Works Administration, effectively curtails the number of persons who can be given jobs in New York City.

As to the usefulness of public works on which the Works Progress Administration has been engaged, there can be no question. The utility of the work which has been accomplished by the W. P. A. in New York City and the value of the services rendered can be gaged by the impressive outline of W. P. A.'s achievements in the city. Time does not permit me to give even an approximation of what has been done.

The work program came at a time when the city's finances were at a low ebb, and for this reason it has proved to be a boon of the first magnitude. Depression or no depression, the necessity for the expansion of the city's plant is continuous and insistent. W. P. A. has furnished the means for this expansion and for the alteration and improvement of the plant necessary to meet the requirements of a continuously enlarging population.

In the field of white-collar and white-apron projects the W. P. A. has been able to expand the services furnished by the city in education, recreation, hospitalization, and administration. It has assisted the welfare department in the provision of millions of garments for those who were too poor to buy them and in the preparation and daily distribution of food to 115,000 needy children. In an evaluation of the works program which has been made by the city officials they rate it in the highest terms.

The physical plant of the city of New York is now in the best condition of its history. Streets, sewers, schools, parks, airports, docks, water-supply projects, and miscellaneous installations are now in better condition than ever before.

Jobs have been done at some 36,000 places in New York City. Statistics will become vivid and meaningful if consideration is given to some outstanding projects. North Beach Airport, according to the head of the engineering

division of the Civil Aeronautics Society, is the first real airport in the United States. Other airports in New York City have been improved and enlarged. The removal of car tracks and the repaving of many of the great traffic arteries in Manhattan and in the other boroughs will always stand out as a great achievement. The development of the East River Drive will be long remembered. The great sewers in Manhattan and in the other boroughs have been enlarged and extended. W. P. A. has been especially instrumental in the improvement and extension of the great park system in New York City. The parks department has taken on a new meaning to the entire citizenry of the city as a result of the work done by the W. P. A. Among the more important undertakings for the parks department may be remembered the Astoria, Red Hook, Colonial, and High Bridge swimming pools, one of which alone will provide relief and recreation to some 6,000 New Yorkers at a single time.

The dock facilities throughout the city have been greatly extended and improved by the W. P. A. The Metropolitan Avenue bulkhead and Sheephead Bay development have completely transformed whole sections of the city. W. P. A. has constructed, reconstructed, altered or renovated practically every public building in New York City. The benefits of this work have inured to practically every city department. W. P. A. has built many new public buildings which were and still are necessary to accommodate the needs of our city government. In addition to garages, pumping stations and other facilities, the W. P. A. has provided the means for needed extensions of water supplies throughout the city by the construction of 350 miles of new mains.

The great bridges in New York are of national importance. They have made history in bridge engineering. W. P. A. has done work in connection with practically all of them. The Queensborough Bridge carries the heaviest traffic in the world, something over 100,000 vehicles in a day. The W. P. A. has constructed new tracks on this bridge to replace the former unsatisfactory pavements. The W. P. A. has reconditioned the Statue of Liberty. Let all of those who speak of un-American activities on the part of the W. P. A. remember the dilapidated and unsafe condition of the Statue of Liberty and view it as it now stands and as it will stand with the improvements made by the W. P. A.

Did our investigators tell us of these things? Did our investigators report those matters to us? Did our investigators give the Congress a real picture of what the W. P. A. is doing? Did our investigators tell us of the very low costs and the efficiency of the Works Progress Administration? Did our investigators do this? Did our investigators tell us of the vigilance and the courage of the W. P. A. officials in routing out and punishing wrongdoers and those who attempt to divert the Government's money? They took a few shady transactions, the details of which were furnished by the W. P. A. itself, because W. P. A. discovered them and routed out those responsible, and paraded them as a great disclosure.

Now, gentlemen, I wish to turn to some of the provisions of this bill which must be stricken out. Perhaps one of the most important, and one which will tend to wreck the entire building program of the W. P. A. in New York City, is that limiting the W. P. A. work to buildings estimated to cost \$25,000. Practically no building of importance can be built in New York City for this sum. Buildings are important and buildings are desired by the local authorities. Why is this mystic figure of \$25,000 picked from the air and placed in this bill on which you are now asked to vote? I think I know. The contractors figure that they cannot make any fat profits from the Government on contracts for less than \$25,000, but if contracts run to more than that they can perhaps corral for themselves some of the money which would otherwise be paid out to poor and starving people. No matter what may be said as to the effectiveness of the Public Works Administration, and I have a high regard for that Administration, all of us who have been Members of this body for a number of years know that the Public Works Administration did not, and cannot, furnish employment to the large number of persons in need of jobs. The cost per man per year on work

done by contract is some three to four times the cost per man per year for the same work when done by the W. P. A. I do not feel that I wish to become the dupe of the contractors' lobby and take \$125,000,000 away from poor and starving people to pour part of it into their coffers. The provision is ridiculous for other reasons. A large number of small jobs necessarily means an increase in administrative cost and increased difficulty of supervision. The supporters of this bill talk largely of increased efficiency in administration, and yet they deliberately insert in the bill a provision which will make for inefficiency in the work. There are so many carpenters, brickmasons, electricians, and so forth, who must be employed. What difference does it make whether they are employed on a big or little job? If employed on a big job they can be supervised more readily, the overhead will be less, and the progress of the work can be watched with greater effectiveness by the administrators. There can be no other reason for this provision than to divert funds from the poor and stricken to the contractors' coffers.

Let us look at the question of administrative costs of the W. P. A. In New York City the cost of administration has been a little over 3 percent, with some 175,000 persons on the roll. One does not have to be a great administrator to know that the rolls cannot be cut in half without increasing the per capita administrative expenses. Anyone with a grain of sense knows that administrative expense cannot be reduced in proportion to the reduction in quota, and yet this bill provides that only 3 3/10 percent of the funds can be spent for administrative purposes. The bill at the same time imposes additional administrative duties by reason of smaller projects. It also asks for a review of the need of persons assigned to the W. P. A., an action with which I am in thorough accord, and yet one which necessarily involves a large increase in administrative expense. The administrative expense of the W. P. A. must not be cut below the present figure of 5 percent if the Congress is to hold the organization to effective work. A cut in administrative expense means nothing but poorer supervision and more inefficient conduct of W. P. A. affairs. This is a vital part of the measure.

Let us look at that clause whereby W. P. A. workers are to be forced to starve for 2 months at stated intervals. How do the gentlemen supporting this measure expect these men to survive for 2 months without any means of livelihood or any source of income? Certainly they do not think that the W. P. A. laborer earning \$60 a month and already receiving a supplemental sum from the city because this will not support him and his family can have saved any large sum on which he can live for as long a period as 60 days. Think of the effect of this proviso on the children of these employees. The way to rid the W. P. A. rolls of those who do not belong there is through a careful investigation of the need of these individuals and not through any barbarous brutal act such as is proposed in the bill.

Another item in the bill which will be of far-reaching importance and do much to destroy the effectiveness of the W. P. A. is the provision substituting a three-man board for the Administrator. Anyone with any administrative experience knows that a board, while good for deliberation, is of no value as an executive agency. Why not have three Secretaries of State, three Secretaries of Commerce, three Secretaries of War, instead of one? Why not have three Congressmen to carry on the affairs in each congressional district rather than one? This provision is utterly ridiculous, unworkable, and unthinkable. I would not object to an advisory board, but an executive board has never been successful and probably never will be. Certainly not a political board as suggested in the bill. If there are two parties on the board, there will be twice as much politics as when there is only one.

There are other matters in the bill to which I object, which the limitation of time will not permit me to discuss. Any person with any real interest in the welfare of the Government and of its citizens, anyone with a real and sincere desire to provide in the Works Progress Administration the

most effective work-relief agency, must conclude that these provisions must be eliminated and along with them those forbidding any Federal department to sponsor a work project, those basing preference on employment on relative need of applicants, something which is almost impossible for anyone to determine. If carpenters are necessary to do a job, shall they be laid off and plumbers who, someone says, are more in need, kept on when they are of no earthly use on the project?

The W. P. A. in my city has a record of achievement, of constant improvement, of integrity, and of courage. It is respected by the city as a whole. This body must do everything in its power to assist W. P. A. officials to improve it and not to ruin it as it surely will be under the provisions of the bill which I have discussed.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PARSONS].

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Chairman, I want to congratulate the committee upon the general principles contained in the changes in the administration of this relief bill. However, there is one very vital point which has been written into this bill, with which I am not in agreement.

I am not very much surprised that the gentlemen on the Republican side of the aisle have seen fit yesterday and today, and perhaps tomorrow, to rise in their places and congratulate the committee upon the proposition of doing what they think is taking politics out of relief. The first great scandal of buying and stealing elections in the United States of America was perpetrated by the Republican Party in 1876 when it stole the election from Samuel J. Tilden for Hayes.

Following that, the Democratic administration passed the Australian ballot law. I have not forgotten, as a youngster, that Mark Hanna and the Republican Party bought the election of 1896 away from William Jennings Bryan. I have not forgotten also that down in Kentucky a few years later, after they had failed to steal the election from the elected Governor Goebel, they murdered him after he was elected. It is rather surprising this afternoon that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. ROSSON] would take his place here and demand that politics be taken out of relief.

In my part of the country, in the great State of Illinois, we had a legislature purchased and sent a Republican to the United States Senate, and while the Senate rejected him, the Republican administration in power never passed any legislation against such things.

Again, later on in the twenties, large sums of money were used to buy an election, and the State of Illinois declared elected a candidate who was rejected by the Senate, but the Republican administration in power did not do anything to take politics out of the elections, or graft and the use of money out of the elections. Why, then, now, when a Democratic administration is in power, should they rise in their places here and become so great and so holy, elevated upon such a high plane, that the poor individual who happens to have to go upon relief, or upon W. P. A. rolls, is prevented in this bill from contributing one dime to a campaign fund to keep in power an administration with which he is in agreement? When has it become a crime in these United States for a Democrat to work for the success of the Democratic Party? When has it ever been decided by the gentlemen on the Republican side of the aisle that it was a crime for a Republican to work for the success of the Republican Party? No! What the committee has done in this bill is not to take politics out of relief. It is to put relief into politics.

There may have been some local conditions, as there always are in every election, as it was in Illinois, and as it is yet, where in local conditions the W. P. A. may have taken part, in a very active manner, in the selection and election of candidates. But when you write language into this bill such as you have, you accomplish just the opposite effect and purpose that you intend. When this bill is enacted into law, those of the opposition, whether in the Democratic or the Republican Party, will go out on the jobs to the man in the ditch, or in the sewing rooms where the women are working, and say to them, "Well, this is one time you cannot take part

in an election. We have got an eye on you. Congress has said you cannot have any part in the election, and if you call at the polls we will report you to Washington and you will lose your job."

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Will the gentleman yield briefly?

Mr. PARSONS. I cannot yield. I only have 10 minutes.

In every instance where there is bitter political activity on both sides this bill, if enacted into law, will afford the opposition the opportunity to intimidate, to interfere with, and to affect the results of the election in every precinct in the United States.

When has it become a crime for a poor individual, if he desires to do so, to contribute a dollar to a campaign fund, when our gentlemen on the left get funds by the twenty-five, fifty, and hundred thousands from the great corporations of the country, as they have done ever since 1896?

No, my friends, you are not taking politics out of relief or out of the W. P. A. when you write those sections into the law. You are not taking politics out of relief or out of the Government service when you prohibit an employee of the Federal Government from taking part in an election or contributing to or influencing the result of an election.

The gentlemen on the other side of the aisle kept their party in power and kept it intact from its inception in 1868 down until the present time, and are still undertaking to do it, with contributions from large corporations. We on this side of the aisle, beginning with the Grover Cleveland administration, the first Democratic administration after the war, created the civil service. We tried to take Government service out of politics as far as we could. We tried to do the same thing under the administration of Woodrow Wilson; yet every time the Republican administration has come into power they prostituted the civil service and put every one of their henchmen out to work for the success of the Republican Party and its candidates. Even in 1932 the Assistant Postmaster General and officers of the Post Office Department went out in the great State of Kentucky, that our distinguished friend who talked this afternoon comes from, and told the postmasters and the clerks that it was up to them to rally to the standard of Mr. Hoover.

Since when, I ask, has it become criminal for a Democrat to go out and work for the success of the Democratic ticket?

I plan to move to strike out certain sections of this bill, and I hope that the gentlemen on this side of the aisle who believe in this Democratic administration that we are responsible for, who believe in the W. P. A. that is the child of the Appropriations Committee and of the Democrats of this House, will have the nerve to stand up here and strike these sections from the bill which will keep politics out of relief instead of placing them back into it. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois yields back 1 minute.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself that minute to say that the provisions put in the bill now before the House are the inhibitions against political activity which are now in existing laws, which were in the conference report that came to the House in February, was adopted by the House; and I feel confident my good friend from Illinois voted for it.

Mr. PARSONS. I may say to the gentleman from Virginia that we have had plenty of opportunity to see a fair trial of that. I was against the matter in the beginning, but it was a case of vote the conference report either up or down as the matter existed. I have seen this in operation since that time. I have seen the intimidation and the browbeating that has occurred by reason of the fact that provision was in that bill. To strike it out is just as fair to the Democrats as it is to the Republicans, to the one party as it is to the other.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. If the gentleman will read the bill he will find that the language to which he refers

is the same as existing law. There has been no change whatever made in it.

Mr. PARSONS. I think the gentleman will admit that a change was made in section 30.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. ROBSION].

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, it is my desire to respond to my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PARSONS], who brings up the elections of 1876 and 1896. I was not in politics then. The thing that I complain about is the use of the taxpayers' money—the relief money—in Democratic primaries as well as in the final election. Use your own money, and not the taxpayers' money. Let the Democratic faction and party finance their campaigns. That is what we are contending for.

Now, about State Senator Goebel. Goebel passed the Goebel election law that gave him and his fellows the power to name the State election commissioners. Those State election commissioners named the county election commissioners, and the county commissioners named the precinct election officers; and after the election was held, with the election machinery in the hands of Senator Goebel and his friends, it was found that the people of Kentucky had given the Republican ticket a majority of about 23,000. Then Senator Goebel took advantage of a provision in his law to bring a contest before the Kentucky Legislature, where he knew the Democrats had a 2 to 1 majority, so that if he lost the election at the ballot box it could be stolen for him in the legislature. And in the stirring events attending that attempt to steal the governorship Goebel was killed.

I might say that one strong faction of the Democratic Party in Kentucky was very much against Senator Goebel. They opposed his unfair election law and were opposed to his contest. They knew that the people of Kentucky had fairly and honestly elected the Republican ticket. In fact, the election returns were certified by election officers appointed by the election commissioners designated by Senator Goebel and his friends.

That occurred 39 years ago. I was a student in Central College at the time and, of course, had no part in those stirring events. While Senator Goebel was committing a great wrong against the people of Kentucky I then denounced, and have always denounced, the killing of Senator Goebel.

Some Democrats made the same charges as the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PARSONS] has made here today, but the people of Kentucky came along later on and elected a Republican Governor and other Republican State officers. I cannot see how that the election of 1876 or 1896 or the killing of Senator Goebel could be offered as a defense or an excuse for the use of taxpayers' money, provided by Congress for the needy people of the Nation, to corrupt, intimidate, or oppress the needy men, women, and children of this Nation. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. JOHNSON] such time as he may desire.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, in the limited time allotted me I desire to discuss as briefly as possible a few of the important provisions of the pending relief bill. It is not my purpose to unduly criticize members of the committee. They have worked long, faithfully, and undoubtedly discharged their duties according to their best judgment. Their task has been a tremendous one and, perhaps, a thankless one.

Moreover, permit me to say at the outset, I feel that the committee has made some good recommendations. There are some commendable features in this bill that have not heretofore appeared in any relief measure. If time permits, I shall mention some of them.

On the other hand, I am deeply disappointed in several of the provisions of this relief bill. It is a source of great regret and deep concern to me that the committee feels it necessary to reduce the relief load during the next fiscal year from 3,000,000 to 2,000,000. That, of course, means a most drastic

reduction in my State. With an unusual drought in Oklahoma at this time, with farmers plowing up their small grain crops in several sections of the State, with grasshoppers, chinch bugs, and other destructive pests in thousands of acres of fields of our farmers, this reduction of one-third of the relief rolls is certain to work a serious hardship in many counties of Oklahoma. I assume that a similar condition prevails in several other States.

I said a moment ago that the committee should be commended in writing in some of the provisions of this act. Some of these provisions are important. A limitation has been placed on the overhead. Under the provisions of this act the overhead cannot exceed 3.3 percent of the entire appropriation. So hereafter if any critic of the W. P. A. criticizes what they call exorbitant overhead expenses you can say once and for all that in no instance will the overhead exceed 3.3 percent. The committee is to be highly commended for this provision. I might add incidentally, that this is approximately what the overhead has been in Oklahoma during the past couple of years.

The committee has rightly eliminated the objectionable theater projects. My own feeling is that some of these projects are indefensible and should have been eliminated a long time ago.

Within the past few days I have had considerable to say with reference to the provision in this pending relief bill proposing to reduce expenditures for the National Youth Administration some \$42,000,000 below the Budget estimate next year. It is not my purpose, nor do I have the time, to go into that program just now. I have watched the N. Y. A. program from its inception and have given my enthusiastic and wholehearted support to it. It is a practical, far-reaching, educational, and work program. In spite of the abuse and vilification and misrepresentations that have been heaped upon the national Administrator of the N. Y. A., I am confident that he has done an outstanding job; that he has been true to his ideals and convictions, and that he is entitled to the plaudits of every real friend of youth, whether he be a private citizen or a public official. I have no apology for giving my support unreservedly to the maintenance and extension of the great unselfish program now being carried on by the National Youth Administration under the able leadership of Aubrey Williams. [Applause.]

The committee's action in requiring a sponsorship over the so-called writers' projects should be commended. This action will eliminate much criticism, some of which was undoubtedly just, against the W. P. A.

On page 9 of the bill it is noted a new paragraph that has not heretofore appeared in any relief measure, providing that hereafter funds may be expended—

On useful public projects, Federal and non-Federal, including work on private or public land, in furtherance of conservation of natural resources.

This is a provision that the Oklahoma delegation in Congress has been fighting for for the past couple of years. We have unanimously gone on record for this, and it is a source of satisfaction that hereafter the important program of soil conservation may be carried on lawfully with relief funds.

If you will turn to page 15, section 12, you will discover another new section not heretofore appearing in a relief measure. Section 12, in my judgment, is not so commendable. It simply provides that none of these funds may be expended on a building the total cost of which exceeds \$25,000 unless such building happens to actually be under construction June 14 of this year. That provision may sound reasonable at first blush, but in my judgment it is one of the most unreasonable, impracticable, and damaging provisions in the entire relief bill. If permitted to be carried out, it would not only wreck the building program of the W. P. A. but it would practically reduce it to a leaf-raking program—a thing that I am sure none of us want to see done. It has been stated that the P. W. A. can better perform a building-construction program than can the W. P. A. Then we are

told with great assurance that hereafter the P. W. A. will carry on all of the major public-building programs throughout the country. I have no quarrel with or criticism of the P. W. A. It has an excellent program, and by all means should be continued, but the Public Works Administration should stand on its own record and accomplishments without borrowing from the funds of the W. P. A. or destroying its building program. This bill provides that applications for P. W. A. will be extended from September 1938 to September 1939, but the fact is that applications already made to the P. W. A. total an excess of three-quarters of a billion dollars. So this provision in the bill to extend the time for P. W. A. applications until next September, to be charitable, is only an empty gesture. There is no use in us fooling ourselves. If this \$25,000 limitation is approved, there just will not be any new public building projects in your districts. It virtually means that all of them not now actually approved are out of the picture.

Mr. Chairman, I here and now give notice that I shall offer an amendment for the purpose of raising the amount that may be used in individual building-construction projects by W. P. A. It is limited by the language in the pending bill to \$25,000.

More than 1,000 school buildings have been constructed in the State of Oklahoma, and the record shows that a very large percent of these buildings have cost in excess of \$25,000. I have a telegram in my hand from the superintendent of schools of the city of Duncan, Okla., which states that Duncan has a \$90,000 stadium project ready to submit. That such a project is urgently needed no one can deny, but under the provisions of the relief bill as it is now written, this worthy project would be out of the picture because of the \$25,000 limitation on W. P. A. building projects as provided in section 12 of the bill.

Mr. TABER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. The gentleman understands that that limitation relates only to building construction and not to other construction?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Oh, yes; I understand. But even with that modification a stadium might be construed as a building. It, of course, has not been started. It would probably be impossible to vote additional bonds in order to finance this project.

Mr. TERRY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. TERRY. Section 12 of the bill, that the gentleman is discussing, also provides that unless the building is one upon which construction is in progress on June 14, it will be eliminated?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. That is correct. The time ought to be extended to permit the construction of other worthy projects, that in some instances have gone so far that the people have voted bonds to finance them, and I shall offer an amendment to extend the time. I also give notice that I shall offer some other needed amendments.

Again let me impress upon you that if this limitation of \$25,000 on construction projects is permitted to stand at the present figure it will not only wreck the building program but it will put 180,000 heads of families out of work. Only 18 percent of all the building projects in the entire country are under the \$25,000 class. Under the leave granted me, I shall place in the Record a list of all projects in Oklahoma amounting to more than \$25,000. By examining that list, it will be noted that it includes many rural school buildings, where not only local labor is used but also local material. It would have been absolutely impossible for these school districts, especially in the rural communities, to have constructed new school buildings on a 45- to 55-percent basis, as required by the P. W. A. In Oklahoma, where we have constructed more school buildings under the W. P. A. program than in any

other State in the Union, this provision will practically sound the death knell to this important construction program. The list of such projects just referred to by me follows:

Oklahoma—Public buildings constructed or rehabilitated by the Works Progress Administration with a total cost in excess of \$25,000

County and town or city	Description of work	Total cost
Adair: Westville.....	New native-stone school building.....	\$62,300
Alfalfa: Cherokee.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	41,495
Atoka:		
Atoka.....	do.....	69,587
Limestone Gap.....	New school addition, classrooms, auditorium-gymnasium, septic tank and disposal field (under construction).....	48,064
Beaver: Beaver City.....	New school auditorium-gymnasium building.....	25,759
Beckham:		
Sayre.....	New school building and gymnasium.....	53,255
Texola.....	New modern school and gymnasium.....	37,459
Blaine:		
Watonga.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	49,504
Do.....	New 2-story high-school building, native stone walls, fireproof.....	72,630
Geary.....	New school building, 2 classrooms and auditorium.....	28,773
Bryan:		
Durant.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	129,267
Do.....	New school addition (under construction).....	82,125
Caddo:		
Anadarko.....	New armory building for the Oklahoma National Guard.....	67,648
Do.....	New community building, native stone walls.....	27,393
Alfalfa.....	New native-stone school building.....	58,564
Apache.....	New combination grade- and high-school building.....	59,794
Cyrl.....	New junior high-school building.....	37,020
Anadarko.....	New school building.....	51,311
Carnegie.....	New grade and high-school building, with combined auditorium and gymnasium.....	73,806
Binger.....	New school for Negroes.....	33,654
Canadian: El Reno.....	New school building.....	58,210
Carter:		
Ardmore.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	86,509
Woodford.....	New school building.....	28,957
Berwyn.....	New school building, 6 classrooms and combined auditorium-gymnasium.....	42,131
Wilson.....	New school building.....	32,709
Graham.....	New school building, classroom and auditorium-gymnasium.....	27,598
McMann.....	do.....	34,018
Ardmore.....	do.....	102,665
Heraldton.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	35,547
Fox.....	New school building for Fox consolidated school district No. 47.....	54,461
Cherokee: Tablequah.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	41,571
Choctaw:		
Hugo.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	41,881
Grant.....	New school building.....	36,480
Hugo.....	New school building with classrooms and auditorium-gymnasium.....	41,408
Fort Towson.....	New school addition, classrooms and combination auditorium-gymnasium (under construction).....	30,375
Cleveland:		
Norman.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	45,000
Do.....	New armory building for Reserve Officers Training Corps, Oklahoma University.....	34,021
Do.....	New memorial tower on campus of Oklahoma University.....	35,817
Coal: Tupelo.....	New school addition, classrooms and combination auditorium-gymnasium (under construction).....	28,561
Comanche: Lawton.....	New courthouse and jail (under construction).....	151,729
Craig:		
Blue Jacket.....	New school addition, classrooms (under construction).....	37,637
Do.....	New native-stone school building.....	32,029
Creek:		
Sapulpa.....	New combined auditorium-gymnasium addition to school building (under construction).....	40,133
Kelleyville.....	New classroom building (under construction).....	36,887
Sapulpa.....	New fireproof high-school building.....	83,190
Bristow.....	New brick physical education building.....	77,383
Drumright.....	New gymnasium for Drumright School.....	52,949
Custer:		
Clinton.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	38,508
Weatherford.....	do.....	42,282
Do.....	New shop and recreational building (under construction).....	33,877
Garfield:		
Enid.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	96,493
NW 1/4 sec. 29, T. 22 N., R. 6 W.....	New 2-story brick veneer dormitory 75 feet by 100 feet.....	33,593
Carrier.....	New school building, classrooms and auditorium (under construction).....	43,624

Oklahoma—Public buildings constructed or rehabilitated by the Works Progress Administration with a total cost in excess of \$25,000—Continued

County and town or city	Description of work	Total cost
Garvin:		
Pauls Valley.....	New school building, classrooms and combination gymnasium-auditorium (under construction).....	\$37,410
Sec. 19, T. 3 N., R. 2 E., consolidated school district No. 3.....	New school building, classrooms (under construction).....	29,325
Stratford.....	New 1-story school building, classrooms and auditorium-gymnasium.....	54,853
Wynnewood.....	New school building.....	30,865
Grady:		
Chickasha.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	60,440
Do.....	New semireproof school building.....	48,746
Ninnekah.....	New high-school building.....	33,254
Minco.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	56,600
Greer:		
Mangum.....	New school building.....	37,133
Do.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	38,136
Brinkman.....	New school building.....	34,819
Mangum.....	Complete new community building, 2-story semireproof structure (started under O. E. R. A.).....	27,003
Sec. 32, T. 4 N., R. 25 W.....	New school building and auditorium.....	39,280
Reed.....	New school building.....	29,544
Sec. 15, T. 7 N., R. 24 W., Plainview School, J. C. district No. 13.....	New school building (under construction).....	35,795
Sec. 7, T. 5 N., R. W., Liberty consolidated district No. 3.....	New school building, classrooms and combination auditorium-gymnasium (under construction).....	26,172
Sec. 9, T. 6 N., R. 23 W., consolidated school district No. 5.....	New school building (under construction).....	27,422
Granite.....	New school building, classrooms and auditorium (under construction).....	47,100
Harmon: Hollis.....	do.....	26,721
Harper: Rosston.....	do.....	33,629
Hughes:		
Yeager.....	New school building, classrooms, auditorium, septic tank (under construction).....	38,885
Wetumka.....	New school building, classrooms and auditorium (under construction).....	104,300
Do.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	58,684
Holdenville.....	do.....	71,884
Calvin.....	New high-school building with auditorium-gymnasium.....	41,342
Jackson:		
Ozark.....	New 1-story school building, brick and mill construction.....	32,620
Duke.....	New 1-story grade and high-school building, with part basement.....	33,513
Sec. 30, T. 3 N. R. 19 W.....	New 14-room school and auditorium.....	45,794
Eldorado.....	New 1-story brick and frame school building.....	28,905
Altus.....	New school building.....	30,539
Blair.....	Remodel building and construct new school building, classrooms and auditorium (under construction).....	35,144
Altus.....	New junior high-school building (under construction).....	70,693
Jefferson:		
Ringling.....	New brick gymnasium.....	44,908
Waurika.....	New school building.....	63,927
Johnston: Tishomingo.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	37,055
Kay:		
Blackwell.....	do.....	48,313
Tonkawa.....	do.....	49,949
Chillico.....	New employees' apartment building, Chillico Indian School (under construction).....	37,792
Kingfisher:		
Kingfisher.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	44,885
Do.....	New fireproof jail.....	41,215
Kiowa:		
Mountain View.....	New school building, classrooms and storm cellar (under construction).....	32,530
Hobart.....	New gymnasium building for senior high-school building (under construction).....	45,959
Snyder.....	New building, classrooms and auditorium (under construction).....	80,144
Hobart.....	New jail, 2-story reinforced concrete frame, brick walls.....	28,007
Cooperton.....	New school building and bus garage.....	27,135
Latimer:		
Panola.....	New school building.....	26,739
Red Oak.....	do.....	26,570
Wilberton.....	New native-stone courthouse and jail (under construction).....	62,685
LeFlore:		
Monroe.....	New stone veneer school building.....	28,492
Poteau.....	New native-stone gymnasium and auditorium.....	27,313
Pocola.....	New school building.....	30,865
Lincoln: Chandler.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.....	45,326
Logan:		
Guthrie.....	do.....	47,857
Do.....	New school building.....	34,281
Do.....	do.....	39,829
Meridian.....	New classroom and auditorium for Meridian School.....	28,433

Oklahoma—Public buildings constructed or rehabilitated by the Works Progress Administration with a total cost in excess of \$25,000—Continued

County and town or city	Description of work	Total cost
Logan—Continued.		
Coyle.....	Remodel old building and construct new auditorium addition to same (under construction).	\$29,546
Guthrie.....	New high-school building, classrooms and auditorium (under construction).	119,189
Love:		
Sec. 29, T. 6 S., R. 2 E., Greenville consolidated school district No. 3.	New school building (under construction).	27,464
Marietta.....	New school building, classrooms and auditorium (under construction).	45,063
McClain:		
Purcell.....	New auditorium-gymnasium for Purcell Negro School (under construction).	38,974
Blanchard.....	New school building.	30,821
McCurtain:		
Sec. 20, T. 7 S., R. 32 E., school district No. C-1.	New school building, classrooms and auditorium-gymnasium (under construction).	25,930
Idabel.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	63,344
Do.....	New school building with classrooms and auditorium.	40,943
Broken Bow.....	New 15-room high-school building of native stone.	27,055
Wright City.....	New high-school building.	42,273
Valliant.....	New high-school building of native stone, containing 11 classrooms.	42,412
Eagletown.....	New school building with classrooms and auditorium-gymnasium.	27,212
McIntosh:		
Eufaula.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	67,755
Checotah.....	New junior high-school building, native stone walls.	51,990
McIntosh:		
Eufaula.....	New native-stone school building.	29,832
Onapa.....	New school building, classrooms and auditorium (under construction).	32,071
Major: Fairview	New elementary-school building.	38,795
Marshall:		
Madill.....	New school building, classrooms and auditorium-gymnasium (under construction).	53,317
Kingston.....	New brick building, 12 classrooms and auditorium (under construction).	43,910
Mayes: Pryor	New classroom building.	41,928
Murray:		
Sulphur.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	43,904
Dougherty.....	Remodel school building and construct new gymnasium (under construction).	35,671
Muskogee:		
Briggs.....	New school building, classrooms and auditorium-gymnasium (under construction).	29,760
Warner.....	New school building, classrooms and combined auditorium and gymnasium.	31,668
Muskogee.....	New sheep and swine barns at Muskogee State fairgrounds.	82,898
Boynton.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	40,557
Haskell.....	do.	40,217
Muskogee.....	do.	119,880
Council Hill.....	New building containing classrooms, auditorium, and gymnasium.	85,916
Noble: Perry	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	50,809
Nowata: Lenapah	New native-stone combined auditorium and gymnasium.	34,292
Okfuskee: Okemah	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	41,851
Oklahoma:		
Edmond.....	do.	49,877
Oklahoma City.....	New grade-school building (under construction).	40,567
Britton School.....	New addition to fireproof classroom building (under construction).	49,409
Oklahoma City.....	Remodel old county courthouse; revise interior, paint walls, electrical work, repair heating plant, etc.	30,134
Okmulgee:		
Beggs.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	48,623
Okmulgee.....	do.	65,392
Morris.....	New school building, classrooms, septic tank, and disposal field (under construction).	39,849
Osage:		
Greyhorse school district No. C-33.	New school building, classrooms and auditorium (under construction).	35,455
Wynona.....	do.	35,455
Pawhuska.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	53,127
Hominy.....	do.	55,021
Pawnee:		
Pawnee.....	do.	67,384
Hallett.....	New auditorium-gymnasium (under construction).	41,049
Cleveland.....	do.	49,844
Payne:		
Yale.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	54,244
Stillwater.....	do.	56,519
Cushing.....	do.	51,506

Oklahoma—Public buildings constructed or rehabilitated by the Works Progress Administration with a total cost in excess of \$25,000—Continued

County and town or city	Description of work	Total cost
Pittsburg:		
McAlester.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	\$65,388
Kiowa.....	New 1-story school building.	29,431
Pittsburg.....	New school building consisting of classrooms and combination auditorium-gymnasium.	37,307
Canadian.....	New school building with classrooms and auditorium-gymnasium.	54,249
Savanna.....	do.	37,712
Pontotoc:		
Allen.....	New building (under construction).	35,627
Roff.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	78,533
Ada.....	do.	65,771
Pottawatomie: Shawnee	New grade-school building.	58,698
Pushmataha: Antlers	New school building containing classrooms and auditorium-gymnasium.	36,753
Rogers:		
Talala.....	New grade- and high-school building, and new home-economics and manual-arts building (under construction).	74,160
Claremore.....	New school building (under construction).	40,534
Verdigris.....	New school building, classrooms, auditorium, and gymnasium (under construction).	30,850
Claremore.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	42,294
Do.....	New courthouse for Rogers County, 2-story reinforced concrete.	74,640
Catoosa.....	New school building.	36,083
Roger Mills:		
Stronz City.....	do.	36,008
Hammon.....	do.	31,007
Seminole:		
Seminole.....	New memorial hall and recreational center (under construction).	33,987
Wewoka.....	New addition to high-school building, classrooms and auditorium (under construction).	161,835
Konawa.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	50,833
Wewoka.....	do.	85,890
Do.....	New school building with classrooms and auditorium.	37,105
Do.....	New school building.	31,078
Sequoyah:		
Vian.....	New school building—classrooms and auditorium-gymnasium.	37,433
Gore.....	New modern school building containing classrooms and auditorium.	31,444
Gans.....	New school building, classrooms, auditorium, and gymnasium (under construction).	45,346
Stephens:		
Duncan.....	New combination grade- and high-school building (under construction).	26,793
Marlow.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	27,740
Duncan.....	New building for Oklahoma National Guard.	54,612
Do.....	New school auditorium-gymnasium.	43,773
Comanche.....	do.	36,349
Tillman: Frederick	New addition to present high-school building and new junior high-school building.	55,638
Tulsa:		
Sand Springs.....	New 8-room school building.	28,004
Jenks.....	New gymnasium.	26,657
Bixby.....	New classrooms and combination auditorium-gymnasium (under construction).	61,107
Tulsa.....	Remodel and construct new addition to school building (under construction).	41,975
Bixby.....	New school building, classrooms, and auditorium.	42,156
Wagoner.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	47,797
Do.....	New school with classrooms and auditorium-gymnasium.	46,126
Coweta.....	New school building, classrooms and combination auditorium-gymnasium (under construction).	36,567
Washington: Limestone School.	do.	25,708
Washita:		
Dill City.....	New brick and mill construction school.	27,299
Sentinel.....	New combination auditorium-gymnasium and remodel present building.	32,449
Woods: Alva.....	New armory building for Oklahoma National Guard.	46,512

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DITTER].

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the minority members of the Deficiency Committee, I wish to commend the distinguished son of Virginia who acted as chairman of the committee in bringing this bill to the House. In my opinion, and I believe I express the opinion of all of the minority members of the Deficiency Committee, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] deserves the commendation.

tion not only of the Congress but the commendation of the country for the courage, for the painstaking attention, for the deliberative consideration, and for the splendid understanding with which he approached the consideration and study of this bill. [Applause.] I believe that only commendation is due this distinguished son of Virginia.

In my opinion this is the most important bill that we will be called upon to consider this session. I regret, as I believe a great many of the Members regret, that we cannot divorce politics from the consideration of the pending measure. We of the minority would prefer that we might be able to dismiss politics from it entirely. [Applause.] But the administration's attitude, and of course now I speak of the national administration, in handling this human need problem, the administration's attitude in handling this problem of hunger, heartache, and need, has been such that it forced upon the country and upon the Congress the political aspects of this picture. The administration, not the minority, has made of relief a political football and, speaking again for the minority, we regret that attitude on the part of the administration.

We believe that the changes that are made in the bill this year vindicate the Republican position since March 4, 1933. We believe that every one of the corrective measures that are incorporated in the present relief bill justify the position which we have taken since the first day that relief and relief administration were projected into the National Congress. In part at least we have secured that for which we have insisted from the beginning.

I want to remind the House that the W. P. A. is the child of the "rubber stamp" Congress. The W. P. A. was born when "must" legislation ruled the ranch. W. P. A. came into being when Congressmen did as they were bid. W. P. A. grew stronger as these delegations of power to the White House became greater. Blank checks for \$4,800,000,000 and \$3,300,000,000 were given over with a reckless abandon in order that the administration at the other end of the Avenue might do with both the delegation of authority and the money what it cared to do. Those were the days when delegations of authority were so widespread that even the Supreme Court of the United States called that delegation into question. You will remember that Justice Cardozo used the phrase "unconfined and vagrant powers" in referring to the delegation of authority to the President. Those were the powers that permitted the Chief Executive to do as he would. Justice Cardozo's characterization was certainly forceful and fitting. Congress had abdicated. The President was in complete control.

Much of the difficulty that we presently face—much of the criticism that has come to this administration of relief—has grown out of that unlimited delegation by the Congress to the executive branch of the Government. We of the minority naturally take a justifiable pride that the corrections that have come are the result of our insistence—our demands. The system of checks and balances has been reestablished. The dignity of the Congress has been reestablished and representative government has been restored. In view of the extent to which we had gone, this in itself is no mean accomplishment.

This present relief bill is related to the message that came to the Congress on the 27th of April of this year. That was the President's message on relief. It seems to me our study of the bill at this time of necessity should include a consideration of that message of April 27. That message expressed the philosophy, it gave the motives, it indicated the objective, it outlined the method by which the President wanted the relief program for the next year carried out. I believe that message was a disappointment. It was a disappointment not only to the Republicans but a disappointment to a great group of Democrats. Naturally, it received the approval of the dyed-in-the-wool and the simon-pure new dealers.

Courageous Democrats, however, were just as disappointed as Republicans with the tone and the content of that mes-

sage. It admitted no mistakes. It approved W. P. A. in toto. It attempted an absolute defense.

I want to read a paragraph or two of that message. I want to read a paragraph in which the President speaks of the causes for the continued unemployment and the need for continued relief. The President definitely related need for relief with a complete collapse of his own recovery program. He admitted the failure to put men back to work. I want to read from that part of the message in which he tried to give an excuse to the country for the continued unemployment, millions out of work:

We have found, however, that in spite of substantial recovery, as indicated by the amount of employment, the volume of unemployment continues at high levels. This is due in large measure to two factors.

I want you to note the two factors that the President claims presently causes our unfortunate difficulties.

The first of these is that the net increase in the labor supply, due to the growth of the working population, is in excess of 500,000 workers annually.

I want you to analyze that statement. That statement is a declaration of a philosophy. It is the philosophy of futility. It is the philosophy of hopelessness. It is the philosophy of despair. Is this our outlook? Have we no future to look forward to? Are we the victims of some enemy that we cannot overcome? Is tomorrow only a time for despair, disappointment, and defeat?

The President told the country that year by year we get a new band of potential unemployables destined by the New Deal program to be lodestones. Were he speaking at one of the graduating exercises in the country today and would use the same thought, he would tell the graduates that they were a part of this 500,000 who have no outlook, no hope, no future but to be condemned to the contentment of defeat. His message brands them as parasites, as a body that intensifies a problem, as a group that contribute nothing, as a part of a mass that must be endured, and which is an impediment rather than an aid to progress.

That declaration by the President is a declaration that limits the horizons of men. That declaration of the President is a declaration that closes our frontiers. That declaration of the President is a declaration that destroys the spirit of the pioneer. That declaration portrays a future restricted, confined, a future of limited perspective; 500,000 men annually are a liability according to the President's appraisal. That is a sad outlook. It is a discouraging outlook, an outlook that I believe most Americans are unwilling to share. That declaration admits defeat. It is striking our colors. It is a surrender.

Let me read further from that same message. The President gives the second reason for the collapse of the recovery program and why this unemployment continues with us:

The second prime factor in this picture is the increasing output of the individual worker.

Now, listen to that. Weigh that, if you will, and analyze it. The second prime factor for 11,000,000 unemployed, the second prime factor for the need of this relief program, the second prime factor for the collapse of this recovery program, is the increasing output of the individual worker. That is the philosophy of scarcity. It is tantamount to saying to the American workman, "No longer use the energy and the genius and the ability that have been yours; cast those aside, circumscribe what you may accomplish."

I recall the challenging message on the rostrum of a high school in Pennsylvania. These are the words:

Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.

But the President says, Oh, no; no longer should there be the might, no longer the ability, no longer the energy, no longer the skill, that have given us the blessings and bounties, more of the automobiles, more of the telephones, more of the radios, and more of the abundant life here in America than can be found anywhere else. The President's message declares these are the causes of unemployment, the factors

which make necessary a relief program. That declaration is the declaration of failure.

We cannot subscribe to this philosophy. We cannot endorse this doctrine. We cannot impose these limitations on the capacities of any American workman. We are not willing to say that the outlook for this more abundant life, of which we have heard so much, is the outlook of frustration. Pigs may have been slaughtered, crops may have been plowed under, production may have been limited by Executive decree, but we refuse such fiat for American genius and American ingenuity.

There are many other parts in this message. The message as a whole intrigues me. I want to read just another paragraph from it. Frankly, I confess a degree of uncertainty in interpreting it. The President says:

It may be of interest to the Congress to know that through the Department of State we have received many assertions that there are few unemployed persons in the nations which have accepted totalitarian forms of government.

What is the purpose of the President in making that statement? Does he intend to call the attention of the Congress to the successes of the totalitarian states? Are the totalitarian states an objective toward which we should direct our efforts?

The President amplifies that part of his message. But by and large the comparison which he makes reflects no undue credit on our system, in fact, it would seem, that at best, he tells the American workmen, "You are fortunate that you have not been marshaled into a government army of unemployables." Again the hopelessness is emphasized.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 additional minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DITTER. I want to get to the close of that message. The last sentence in that message is an interesting one. I quote again:

It will be said by history, after much political smoke has cleared away, that the Federal Government's handling of work relief has been one of our most efficient administrative accomplishments.

Let me read that again for you:

It will be said by history, after much political smoke has cleared away, that the Federal Government's handling of work relief has been one of our most efficient administrative accomplishments.

That is the President's own yardstick of his administrative accomplishments. Of course, standards, yardsticks, vary with different people. Some of us have one standard and some another. Standards somehow are the symbols by which men, or nations, or any type of organization measure their ambitions and their goals. Some men have high standards. Some men yearn and seek and aspire as they establish their standards. They have hopes for perfection. And then, there are others who have standards of mediocrity. What we accomplish, what history will record depends upon the standards we establish. The President asks that history measure his by the efficiency of the relief administration.

The art of living is the wise choice of satisfactions. Some men are satisfied with little. They never see the stars. They have no vision, no urge, no ambition. The President asks that his success be measured by the yardstick of W. P. A. efficiency.

In spite of the political corruption, in spite of the waste, in spite of the inefficiency that has shocked the country, in spite of the scandals, in spite of abuses and mismanagement, the President blesses them with his benediction.

I am willing to have the measure of my successes, I am willing to have history's record of my administration measured by the yardstick of W. P. A.'s accomplishment. A bolder defense of W. P. A. cannot be imagined. A more complete approval cannot be suggested. The President rests his reputation on the righteousness of W. P. A., and history will record without fear or favor its appraisal of this agency.

We have not dwelt upon the acknowledged errors of omission and commission of the administration of relief by the Federal Government. That is a sordid story. Enough

has already been said to give you the picture. It is uninviting and discouraging.

Our concern is the general philosophy which is the heart of the problem. The methods, the mistakes, the errors of administration can be corrected. Legislation may reach these. But the fundamental philosophies—these must be changed by a change of heart, by a change of outlook, by a new vision, a new hope, a new aspiration. We must refuse to give to slothfulness the rewards of industry, to wastefulness the rewards of thrift, to indolence the rewards of enterprise. We dare no longer dampen the ardor, thwart the energy, and kill the ambition of America. We must hold out something other than relief as the goal of our achievements.

We must forsake futility and failure as the future of America. We must hold out frontiers to conquer. We must paint horizons to reach. We must accept obstacles to overcome. We must strive to get the inspiration of victory, the laurels of achievement. We must give to work, to thrift, to industry, to the spirit of self-reliant, self-sufficient America the dynamic urge which success alone can give. We must have a vision, and with that vision the will to win. The relief of the needy must be provided, but better by far than any relief program, better than work relief, or any other type of aid, would be the relief of the spirit of America, the spirit of the American workmen, the spirit of American achievement, from the deadening, disheartening, disappointing outlook that America is a failure. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. CROWE].

Mr. CROWE. Mr. Chairman, I am earnestly in sympathy with those who, through no fault of their own, are unemployed. Accordingly I have from time to time supported relief measures for the unemployed and with the millions of unemployed in the United States it has been up to the Nation—either jobs or a dole. I prefer jobs because, first the unemployed maintain their self-respect; and second, useful, worthwhile improvements have been made, most of which are overlooked by those who criticize this administration. Works properly constructed have the same intrinsic value and use for the purpose for which they are constructed, and being constructed by this agency has nothing to do with their utility thereafter.

I was much interested in the fine speech of Congressman WOODRUM. He is among the topmost able men in the House and honest to the last degree. Investigations made by him would be honest and aboveboard. I was interested to notice the leaks and waste in certain quarters. I expected to hear of some waste and some crooked things having been done. In fact, I have never heard of a billion dollars being spent but what there were leaks and more or less crooked work. We have it in business and banking in private life. We have always had some in government. I expected it. I do, however, want to see every possible bit of it eliminated. The encouraging thing to me, however, is that the leaks and mistakes, glaring as they are, are as infinitesimal in percentage in amounts as they are. But as small as they are, let us eliminate them all if possible.

Whether the policies of this administration have been worth while or not, I want to remind you that the income of the Nation has risen from \$39,000,000,000 to \$65,000,000,000 estimated for 1939. It is true the income of the Nation did reach \$80,000,000,000 in 1929, but for 10 years prior to that it did not average over \$65,000,000,000 per year. The reason that there was less unemployment during those 10 years than there is at this time with the same average income of the Nation is because of the tremendous improvement of machinery in this machine age. For instance, now the sheet of tin is thrown into the hopper and comes out a block away filled with tomatoes labeled ready for use, and never touched by human hands between those two points. The men who had worked at that heretofore were on the scrap heap until this relief program took many of them off it.

I want to say a word for the W. P. A. in Indiana. First, I want to compliment Col. John A. Cody, of the New Albany, Ind., office. He is one of the most painstaking, conscientious

men in the discharge of his duty that I have had occasion to meet. Then through the years of Wayne Coy as State Administrator no sign nor evidence of anything went through that office which was irregular, and its efficiency from the day he started until the day he ended his regime was as perfect as was humanly possible. And today we have John K. Jennings for State Administrator. John Jennings is a businessman—a successful businessman. He is intelligent, a hard worker. At any time you want to call him or call on him you can get him during any reasonable business hours, and when you get him he is awake to the situation and always earnestly endeavoring to be helpful.

I know something about the relief program. I live in the Indiana limestone district, which district has been the hardest hit in a business way of any part of Indiana, and perhaps in the Nation. For instance, we had 10,000 people directly employed in the stone business at its high peak. In 1932 the number was reduced to only 622. That left 9,378 unemployed from that one business. Without the relief program I cannot think of any businessman in that district but who would have gone into bankruptcy. It saved the day for everybody. I have never heard a single charge of any irregularity during these years in the city in which I live of Bedford, Ind., thanks to the efficiency of a fine mayor and splendid administrator, so I think it resolves itself into this: That the relief program is just as good or just as bad as the people of the community make it. It is up to the citizens of a local community to see that good people are selected to perform the work and that worth-while public works are proposed. [Applause.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STARNES].

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, the Public Works Administration tomorrow will observe its sixth birthday anniversary.

It will be just 6 years ago tomorrow that President Roosevelt signed the Recovery Act containing the title which gave life to the Public Works Administration.

Since that time this agency has demonstrated to the Nation its worth through aiding the construction of useful public works throughout the country and through the creation of widespread employment both at the sites of construction and in the manufacture, fabrication, and transportation of materials.

Every Member of this House is familiar with the enviable record that P. W. A. has made. And every member of this House likewise is conscious of the fact that no scandal has ever embarrassed the efficient administration of this agency.

I have no quarrel with the committee which has reported this joint resolution. It has held extended hearings, it has gone thoroughly into the subject of relief, and it has brought to the House a bill which, in many respects, is an excellent piece of legislation. The gentleman from Virginia and the other members of the committee have worked long and faithfully, and deserve the commendation of the country.

Perhaps those phases of the resolution dealing with work relief are the best that could be brought forward at this time. My own views are that sooner or later we must consider this whole problem of relief and work relief on a broader and long-term basis. In my opinion the time is not far distant when we shall have to rely on social security to fulfill the functions of all strictly relief activities, undertaken primarily for relief purposes, as differentiated from real public works.

Some weeks ago I introduced a bill authorizing a permanent Public Works Administration with an appropriation of \$500,000,000. The majority of the committee has not seen fit to incorporate these features in the pending resolution, although I do not believe that any member of that committee is of the opinion that the P. W. A. has not done a splendid job. The committee report, as a matter of fact, has recognized the value of public works by recommending an extension of its authority and by transferring from title 1 of the resolution \$125,000,000 to the Public Works Administration. In fact, the distinguished gentleman from Virginia

who investigated relief matters for us said yesterday he had no objection to a P. W. A. program, and the Congress should consider one if it saw fit.

A fund for P. W. A. of \$125,000,000 at this time is, in my opinion, totally inadequate. This amount would take care of comparatively few of the pending applications and would not provide for any projects for which applications may be filed after the passage of this resolution. It is my opinion that the public-works program should be, and in fact must be, several times larger than that permitted by this title. I intend at the proper time tomorrow to offer as a substitute for title II, reported by the committee, an amendment which represents a position midway between the title as reported by the committee and the bill previously introduced by me. This amendment will contain provisions for an appropriation of \$275,000,000 for non-Federal projects. This will be in addition to the \$125,000,000 transferred by title I of the bill. At the suggestion of a number of Members, I shall also propose an appropriation of \$75,000,000 for Federal projects. The total thus made available will permit a moderate-sized program of non-Federal and Federal public works which will result in the economical and efficient construction of permanent and useful public facilities, and will relieve unemployment and aid industry.

Mr. SIROVICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. I yield.

Mr. SIROVICH. I think the gentleman deserves the commendation of the House for this very constructive amendment and, particularly, for the work that the P. W. A. has been doing in rendering the finest contribution to work in this country.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. I thank the gentleman from New York for his contribution and can testify to his devotion to the cause of a sound public-works program for this country and the providing of employment on projects which have a lasting social and economic value.

The substitute measure I intend to offer will not include the \$225,000 limitation on the grant for any one project, because such limitation, which would make ineligible for allotment all projects costing over \$500,000 would eliminate many of the most worth-while projects in nearly every Congressional district in the country. For your information, I shall put in the RECORD a list of the projects which could not receive allotments if this limitation were permitted to stand. There are 483 of them in 41 States—needed, worth-while projects from every corner of the Nation.

The amendment I will offer continues the life of the Public Works Administration and extends the time for commencement of projects to be financed with funds made available by this resolution to April 30, 1940, and for substantial completion of such projects to December 31, 1941. The administration is empowered by my amendment to receive new applications until April 30, 1940.

Mr. Chairman, I desire and ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point the text of the amendment which I propose to offer.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. STARNES of Alabama: Page 30, line 9, after "Title II—Public Works Administration Projects", strike out all of sections 201 to 205, inclusive, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"Sec. 201. (a) In order to increase employment and to provide for the general welfare by providing for useful non-Federal public-works projects of the kind and character which the Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works has heretofore financed or aided in financing, pursuant to title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1936, the Public Works Administration Extension Act of 1937, or the Public Works Administration Appropriation Act of 1938, there is hereby appropriated to the Public Works Administration (herein called the 'Administration') in the Federal Works Agency, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$275,000,000, together with any balance or balances of the appropriation made by the Public Works Administration Appropriation Act of 1938 not reserved or made

available by the Congress for administrative expenses of the Administration and not now or hereafter expended pursuant to allotments made prior to the effective date of this act, such sums, together with the sum of \$125,000,000 transferred from section 1, to remain available until expended, and, subject to the provisions hereinafter set forth, to be expended at the direction of the Federal Works Administrator (herein called the 'Administrator'), with the approval of the President, for (1) the making of loans or grants, or both, to States, Territories, possessions, political subdivisions, instrumentalities or agencies thereof, or other public bodies (herein called 'public agencies'), for projects of such public agencies; and (2) the construction and leasing of projects, with or without the privilege of purchase, to any such public agencies.

"(b) No funds available under this title shall be allotted for any project which in the determination of the Administrator cannot be commenced prior to April 30, 1940, or the completion of which cannot be substantially accomplished prior to December 31, 1941: *Provided*, That this limitation upon time shall not apply to any project delayed by litigation in any Federal or State court.

"(c) No grant shall be made in excess of 45 percent of the cost of any non-Federal project, and no project shall be constructed for lease to any public agency unless the Administrator shall determine that the nonrecoverable portion of the cost of such project shall not exceed 45 percent of such cost.

"(d) No moneys for a non-Federal project shall be paid from the funds made available by this title to any public agency unless and until adequate provision has been made, or, in the opinion of the Administrator, is assured, for financing such part of the entire cost thereof as is not to be supplied from Federal funds.

"(e) Not exceeding \$9,750,000 of the funds available under this title, in addition to the moneys authorized by subsection 201 (f) of the Public Works Administration Appropriation Act of 1938 and the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1940, to be used for administrative expenses of the Administration for the fiscal years 1939 and 1940, shall be available to pay administrative expenses of the Administration for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1939, and June 30, 1940. The Administrator shall reserve from the amount available under this title an adequate sum for administrative expenses of the Administration in connection with this title for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, subject to authorization hereafter by annual appropriation acts for the utilization thereof.

"Sec. 202. (a) The Administration is authorized to sell any bonds, securities, or other obligations which it has heretofore acquired or hereafter acquires, and to use the proceeds realized from the sale thereof for the making of further loans pursuant to the provisions of this title.

"(b) The Administration is authorized to exchange any bonds, securities, or other obligations which it has heretofore acquired or hereafter acquires for any other bonds, securities, or other obligations of the same or any other public agency.

"Sec. 203. On and after the effective date of reorganization plan No. 1, transmitted to the Congress by the President of the United States pursuant to the authority granted by the Reorganization Act of 1939, all laws, Executive orders, and other documents referring to the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works shall be deemed to refer to the Public Works Administration, and all laws, Executive orders, and other documents referring to the Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works shall be deemed to refer to the Federal Works Administrator.

"Sec. 204. All limitations of time on the continuance of the Administration, or on the performance of its functions or exercise of its powers, and all limitations as to time on the authority of the Administrator to make allotments or to expend funds or do any other act, under or pursuant to the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Emergency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1935, the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1936, the Public Works Administration Extension Act of 1937, or the Public Works Administration Appropriation Act of 1938, or under any other act, are hereby repealed. The Administration is hereby continued and is authorized to continue to perform all functions which it is authorized to perform on the date of enactment hereof, until otherwise provided by law; and all provisions of law existing on the date of enactment hereof, and relating to the availability of funds for carrying out any of the functions of such Administration, are hereby continued until otherwise provided by law. That portion of section 201 (a) of the Public Works Administration Appropriation Act of 1938 which reads "to remain available until June 30, 1940," is hereby amended to read "to remain available until expended," and the sum appropriated by said act is hereby made available until such sum is expended.

"Sec. 205. The Administration is hereby authorized to receive and consider applications for aid under the provisions of this title or of any other act hereinbefore referred to, including applications amendatory of other applications heretofore or hereafter received: *Provided*, That no new applications shall be received by the Administration after April 30, 1940.

"Sec. 206. Section 206 of the Public Works Administration Extension Act of 1937, as amended by section 204 of the Public Works Administration Appropriation Act of 1938, and that portion of section 201 (f) of the Public Works Administration Appropriation Act of 1938 which reads 'for the completion (except liquidation) of the activities of such administration,' are hereby repealed; and the date specified in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, as amended by section 201 of the Public Works Administration Extension Act of 1937 and by section 202

of the Public Works Administration Appropriation Act of 1938, prior to which, in the determination of the Administrator, projects for which moneys made available by such act were authorized to be granted, can be substantially completed is hereby changed from 'July 1, 1940,' to 'December 31, 1941,' and the dates specified in section 201 (b) of the Public Works Administration Appropriation Act of 1938, prior to which, in the determination of the Administrator, projects for which moneys appropriated by such act were authorized to be allotted, could be commenced and substantially completed, respectively, are hereby changed from 'January 1, 1939,' to 'April 30, 1940,' and from 'June 30, 1940,' to 'December 31, 1941,' respectively.

"Sec. 207 (a). There is hereby appropriated to the Administration, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until expended, the sum of \$75,000,000, to be expended at the direction of the Administrator, with the approval of the President, for the making of allotments to Federal agencies for the financing of Federal construction projects and the acquisition of land for sites therefor, such projects to be selected from (1) projects authorized by law and (2) projects for the enlargement, extension, or remodeling of existing Federal plants, institutions, or facilities.

"(b) No Federal construction project, except flood control and water conservation or utilization projects now under actual construction, shall be undertaken or prosecuted with funds made available by this section unless and until moneys sufficient for the completion thereof shall have been irrevocably allocated or appropriated therefor.

"Sec. 208. No provision of title I hereof other than section 1 (a) shall apply to this title II or to any funds available under this title.

"Sec. 209. This title may be cited as the 'Public Works Administration Appropriation Act of 1939'."

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Unless the Congress increases the appropriation for P. W. A. there will be a material falling off in construction this fall. The 1938 Public Works Program, I am informed, will reach its peak probably next month. And unless there is something to take its place thousands of skilled and unskilled workers and thousands of others engaged in the manufacture of building materials and supplies will find themselves without work.

Mr. Chairman, the country is in no condition today to abandon public works. Nor do I believe that it is willing to cut this program down to \$125,000,000.

Permit me to call to the attention of the House some of the accomplishments of the Public Works Administration.

It has, as a result of its several programs, created more than 1,783,700,000 man-hours of direct employment at construction sites at prevailing local wages.

In addition, it has created an even greater amount of work indirectly. The United States Department of Labor, through its Bureau of Labor Statistics, not long ago made a special study of 1,000 completed P. W. A. projects. It found after painstaking research that for every hour of labor furnished on the site of a P. W. A. project that two and a half times as many hours of work were created elsewhere. This "behind the lines" employment in mines, forests, factories, and mills, while not as readily discernible as the construction-site employment, nevertheless, is just as important and because of its larger volume is even more important.

Another good feature with respect to the Public Works Administration is that its grants are limited to 45 percent. It costs the Federal Government less because in every instance the local community puts up 55 percent, or the major portion of the total cost of the project. Still another advantage is that the local community gets exactly what it wants and what it feels that it is able and willing to pay for. No one in the Public Works Administration sits in an office in Washington and tells a local community that it must take an airport instead of a school or a swimming pool in place of a hospital. The selection of projects in the first instance is the business of the local community.

Under this policy the Public Works Administration has been instrumental in having cities, towns, and other public bodies put to work nearly \$2,000,000,000, exclusive of Government loans, which otherwise might have remained idle.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for one observation?

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I appreciate the very splendid, informative address the gentleman is giving and I agree with him in the main, but it occurs to me that if the Public

Works Administration does all, or practically all, of the building program hereafter, it will be impossible in rural districts, for instance, to get a building constructed because of the amount that the local community must put up in order to have such construction.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Well, there are few communities in this country today that are not able to put up 55 percent as the sponsor share for a sound public-works program where one is actually needed.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. I yield.

Mr. DEMPSEY. If the Congress does not vote more than \$125,000,000 there will not be very many buildings put up in the rural districts.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. That is correct.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for one more question?

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. As I understand, there have heretofore been P. W. A. projects approved to the extent of about three-quarters of a billion dollars. If only \$125,000,000 is appropriated they cannot begin to take care of the projects already approved.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. The gentleman is correct and I thank him for his observation.

Mr. MASSINGALE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Briefly; yes.

Mr. MASSINGALE. I want to state to the gentleman with respect to his remarks that he doubts if there is any community in America that cannot put up the amount required for a P. W. A. project, I am sure the gentleman thinks that is correct; but out in the Midwest section of the United States I am sure, if the gentleman just knew the conditions existing there and why they had to use the W. P. A. for the construction of school buildings and matters of that sort, he would have a different idea about it.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. I have been entirely sympathetic to the work-relief program up to the present time and have supported every bill for work relief that has been presented to the Congress. I realize there are some communities in the United States that are not able to finance their own projects, but I still contend they are few.

Local public bodies under P. W. A. programs have contributed approximately \$1,848,000,000 of their own funds toward the construction of 16,700 useful non-Federal public projects. This vast sum, mind you, did not come from the Federal Treasury. In addition to it, applicants borrowed from P. W. A. approximately \$830,000,000, to be repaid to the Federal Treasury with interest at 4 percent. The Government already has received more than \$18,000,000 in interest on these loans, not to mention a profit of more than \$12,000,000 as the result of the sale of bonds.

Just a word now as to the stimulus that has been provided American industry by the P. W. A. More than \$2,500,000,000 worth of material orders have been placed with American manufacturers month after month since 1933. Some \$591,000,000 worth of steel and steel products were ordered; over \$600,000,000 went for stone, clay, and glass products; \$451,000,000 for machinery, \$138,000,000 for forest products, and so on. American industry would be far worse off today had there been no public-works program.

A recent report by Administrator Ickes to the President showed that more than \$1,205,000,000 has been paid out by private contractors in wages on P. W. A. project construction sites. This report, based on figures of the Department of Labor, showed further that 59 percent of these earnings goes directly to the grocer, the clothier, and for housing. Families of P. W. A. workers spent their earnings as follows: Food, 32 percent; clothing, 11 percent; furnishings and equipment, 4 percent; transportation, 9 percent; recreation, 5 percent; medical care, 4 percent, and other items, 7 percent.

Mr. Chairman, it is not my purpose to burden the Members by any further quoting of figures and statistics. The

lists of P. W. A. allotments, the number and types of projects and similar statistical material are a matter of record and may be found in the committee hearings.

But I do want to point out to the House that P. W. A. has on hand some 5,800 projects for which funds are not now available. It does not seem fair to so many Members representing so many communities which in good faith are ready and willing to defray 55 percent of the cost of these needed improvements that they should be disappointed. Unless this appropriation is increased many of these deserving projects must necessarily fall by the way.

The Public Works Administration is not on trial. P. W. A. has won the merited acclaim of the country for the sensible and efficient manner in which it has done its work. That approval also has been reflected in the action of this House on many occasions during the past 6 years. When the time comes let us increase this appropriation and give the Public Works Administration another vote of confidence. [Applause.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield now to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ALEXANDER].

RELIEF AND W. P. A.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Chairman, in the absence of a better bill, or in the absence of a substitute for W. P. A. relief, I am forced to vote for this measure which is now before us, because without the funds which it provides, countless millions of our people will starve, and I am sure that no one in this country, either in Congress or out of Congress, would countenance such a thing, no matter how much opposed one might be to the philosophy and theory expressed in this W. P. A. appropriation bill.

Let me preface my remarks by saying that this measure has been worked out by a committee dominated, if not by enemies of the W. P. A., then by men who are inherently opposed to the W. P. A.—ultraconservatives and anti-New Dealers, who, while they have no love for the W. P. A., have been forced to bring out this bill because of the national unemployment situation. As a consequence of their antipathy to this sort of an appropriation, they have made it just as bad and just as undesirable a bill as they could, perhaps in the hope that they could thus kill it off and destroy it. They have done this notwithstanding the fact that there would be nothing in the way of a substitute measure, sound and constructive and fundamental, which they would or could offer to take care of our poverty-stricken unemployed people, who in their helplessness look up with outstretched arms, beseeching Congress for a few crumbs and morsels from the bountiful resources which this Nation holds within its boundaries.

Consequently I was disappointed when this bill came yesterday from the committee and was presented to the House of Representatives. I was disappointed also on April 27 when the President brought his message to Congress regarding the relief problem. I was disappointed—and I say this in no partisan sense—because I felt that after 6 years of trial, effort, and experimentation, that it was high time that the administration brought a recommendation and suggestion to the Congress of a sound and constructive program looking to the solution, or at least the lessening, of our unemployment problem. I say, in view of the fact that the President failed to do this, I am also disappointed that the Congress now, after 6 more weeks since his message, has also failed to bring to this country some sound legislation in place of this very unsatisfactory suggestion for the further continuance of the W. P. A. as the chief source of relief for a gasping, expectant, and beseeching Nation.

Yesterday the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] said in opening the debate:

What this country needs is drastic revision or outright repeal of the Wagner Act, of the wage-and-hour law, and of the reciprocal trade agreements.

I would like to add to that statement that what this country needs is that all Government regulations and restrictions on business should be revised or repealed. But what this country needs even more than that is that we here in Washington, who are charged with the obligation and the

duty, should set up a real program for relief, and for the solutions of our other great problems, such as war, disease, and crime, to which I have referred so frequently on the floor of this House since coming to Washington.

These are the filthy canker sores which are breeding, festering, and eating into the very life and blood stream of this great Nation, and only because of our inherent financial strength and our exceptional natural resources can we so long withstand the attacks of these insidious diseases. Neither Congress nor this or the preceding administration can take any credit for the fact that we are still in as good a state of preservation as we are. It is not because of Congress or of these administrations that we are still a going concern; rather, it is in spite of the bungling and blundering mess into which we have brought ourselves that the Republic still lives.

What this country also needs is an administration with the courage and the insight to do something sound, constructive, and fundamental, and Congressmen who will think these problems through and who will thereupon present to the Nation a real program for their solution, not for their perpetuation. It is our duty to put our faith in the direct approach to these problems. The way to remove bad results is by the removal of the bad causes.

On January 13 I suggested to the House that we set up a committee to study this problem of relief, so that a constructive program could be brought into this session of Congress. A few days ago in connection with the debate on the appropriation bill for the Department of Justice I also suggested in that connection that instead of continually, year after year, making larger and larger appropriations for the support of that Department, charged with crime catching and crime punishing, that we should take stock of the situation, do a little introspection, and set ourselves to the real task of crime curing instead of going on voting larger and larger appropriations in an unquestioning manner, as we so easily do here when asked for appropriation legislation. Oh, I know it is easier to let things ride, not to question these things, but I greatly doubt if it is cheaper. In fact, the complaint of the public is fully justified when they charge us with extravagance, with applying the most costly solution in every respect in the case of these great problems.

I cannot see how we can pursue such policies as we are and call ourselves a Christian nation, for in the terms of the Founder of Christianity, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these," we are not justified in that claim by such a program as this bill contemplates. In terms of democracy and its eternal and priceless heritage bought with the blood of our Revolutionary, Civil, World, and other war veterans, I cannot see that we can justify ourselves with such a bill as this. Some of the people of America may eat well, some of us may eat cake, but I cannot eat it with pleasure and satisfaction as long as I know there are millions of men and women who are starving for want of bread; when I know there are millions of boys and girls going daily without fresh vegetables, fruit, and even milk. And here we are again today condemning them to another year of hunger, of want, and of poverty-stricken misery. When, if we were half the men we think we are, we could put a stop to this thing immediately, soundly, constructively, permanently, and at less cost than is involved in the program which we have for years pursued and are here today perpetuating.

After 10 years of depression we are still making blind appropriations, I suppose with the hope that by some act of sleight-of-hand or legerdemain or by some gift of Providence we may find prosperity around the corner where we can suddenly lay hold of it and put a stop to the drain on the Public Treasury.

A SIMPLE AND NATURAL SOLUTION

As I have contemplated this problem, seeking long and earnestly to find a solution based on realism and on human needs and limitations, I have been struck with the fact that most of our public thinking on the subject of relief has been based on an erroneous premise, the premise that the problem is how to care for 11,000,000 unemployed. Most of us have taken that

or some other larger figure, representing the mass of those on relief, and we have stood aghast at the enormity of the problem. It is apparent that it has made most of us spellbound, if not entirely unconscious. We have been saying to ourselves over and over "millions and millions and millions of unemployed" and "billions and billions and billions of appropriations" until we have lost sight of the real fact and the real problem.

Consequently I want to say with all the emphasis at my command that the problem is much simpler than it appears, that the problem is simply the problem of the individual, of the individual man and woman who is unemployed and who needs work, food, shelter, clothing; or, in most cases, of the individual family whose breadwinner needs work to provide rent money, groceries, food, clothing, and shoes. Now, actually and seriously, is that not the complete extent of our problem? The problem of each and every single individual who makes up this great army of relief clients? There are three things which all individuals must have, whether prince or pauper, whether employed or unemployed, whether rich or poor. We all meet on the same level in this respect, that we must all have food, shelter, and clothing.

Knowing that, then, it seems to me that the question becomes how best, how most economically, cheaply, and easily can we provide our needy and unemployed with these fundamental needs of life. In the case of the family, it seems to me the answer is a home in the suburbs of our great cities, or on the edge of our smaller cities and towns, where a suitable and practicable piece of ground could be utilized for the creation of the family's food needs. A large percentage of our unemployed are city dwellers, who, because of the industrial depression and because of the advent of the machine age have been temporarily or permanently thrown out of work. In fact, in this country we did not have any unemployment or relief problem until the concentration of our population in our urban centers.

I am positive, therefore, the sooner we get back to the home and to the land, the sooner we will rehabilitate our unemployed and save our Nation from bankruptcy. With a home and a garden, two-thirds of our family unemployment problem has been solved, leaving only the problem of clothing to be taken care of with relief or by part-time work. With all of our great surpluses in this Nation, it is a crying shame and an indictment of our intellect if we cannot make a go out of it in a constructive way. While a few of us have too much, most of us have far too little of the things that make for a good life—that is, a home, proper food, warm clothing, and healthful surroundings. Too much for some and too little for many is not conducive to the happiness either of the few or of the many, nor to the stability of society as a whole.

I am sure if you will think this thing through with me that you will see it as I do, that the home is most important; that it is not only the seat of life and of happiness but that it is also the foundation of democracy and therefore of liberty. A nation founded and established on the principle of giving to the individual "life, liberty, and happiness" cannot exist without the home being paramount and supreme. We seem, however, to forget this, and as a result we have not only lost our economic prosperity but we have also almost lost all of our security, our political stability, and our democracy. The home is therefore primarily important, not only in terms of the individual but in terms of the highest objective of humanity, collectively speaking.

What are we doing or what have we been doing in this country to promote this idea in an actual and in a real and aggressive manner? While we have been handing out doles, hand-to-mouth relief, starvation W. P. A. wages in a hit-and-miss, month-to-month manner, and interspersed here and there with emergency-relief appropriations—R. F. C., H. O. L. C., U. S. H. A., and so forth—we have not pursued a policy aimed at the roots and causes of the unemployment evil or problem. As a consequence we have much less to show for our public expenditures than we should have. True, we have fed people in a way, but we could have done it better

and with much less expense had we set up a program in the beginning such as I am suggesting here today.

In addition to furnishing economical shelter and food as I am suggesting, think of the work which would be provided by building permanent and modern homes for the unemployed, by properly landscaping them, by laying out roadways, parkways, country clubs, and other recreational centers where life would be worth while, and where our youth could be nurtured in health-giving surroundings and protected from the breeding spots of crime. Think of the lumber, the roofing material, the paint, the plumbing, the electrical equipment, the glass, the plaster and cement, the garden tools, the poultry, machinery, livestock, and all the other things which would immediately jump into great demand were such a home and garden program started in America.

I should not take the time in this discussion to suggest any of the mechanics for the operation of such a program, but on account of my own experiences, both personal and in business, I feel constrained to suggest that in order to make such a program immediately and extensively successful I would give the individual the right to dip directly into Government funds provided for the purpose, so as to help him quickly in the creation of a suburban home. I would also make it possible for the realtor or real-estate operator to utilize the fund, also the contractor, and, of course, the local city or the State. This would give enough latitude and make the funds available in such a widespread manner that business could not help but feel the benefit of such a building and development boom. If an individual should feel that he wanted to work on the building of the home, I think it would be most appropriate to allow him to do so. I feel from experience that the suggestion which I have just made would especially serve to encourage private business and industry to extend themselves to the limit in order to avail themselves of the opportunity to do business in cooperation with the Government.

We hear it said that we have no more frontiers. I think we have frontiers on the outskirts of every city in this land, and if Government funds were made available for the building of homes and gardens for our poverty-stricken people, we would immediately re-create a million new frontiers for America's finest citizenry and her growing youth while they built a new life for themselves.

PROOF OF THE PUDDING IS IN THE EATING

How do I know and why am I so sure that this plan will work? That it can be done? For three reasons: (1) Because I pursued almost identically the same course as I am suggesting here in my early days when Mrs. Alexander and I were first married and had to live on \$50 a month. We did it and made progress; (2) because Europe has done it and is doing it for her teeming millions; (3) because a certain Catholic priest, Father Ligutti, at Granger, Iowa, did it in the case of the unemployed miners of that southern Iowa town. Doubtless other similar cases have occurred to prove the practicality of the plan which I am suggesting. At this point in the RECORD I want to insert an article taken from the January 1939 issue of the magazine *Free America* entitled "Experiment in Living," which describes in some detail the story of the development at Granger, Iowa.

EXPERIMENT IN LIVING (By Bertram B. Fowler)

There are thousands of communities in America like the mining camps surrounding Granger, Iowa. These communities, huddles of shacks clustering around the mine, factory, or mill that provides the livelihood for the workers, represent centralization at its sordid worst. In these communities live men and women who are divorced from all hope of betterment as long as the bonds of poverty keep them tied to their company homes and the mill whistle.

The mining camps around Granger are no worse and no better than the thousands of communities you may see in every State in the Union. The shacks in which the miners live are flimsy, paintless structures with not a single modern improvement. All the water used in the shacks comes from the row of community pumps sunk squarely in the center of the filthy, rutted street a comparatively few yards removed from the rows of outhouses behind the shacks. There are no bathrooms, no electric lights. Each shack is built so close to its neighbor that none has more

than a tiny patch of sour earth incapable of growing anything but a few pale weeds. For these shacks, which the mining company evaluated at \$50 when they found a sale for one, the miners pay a rent of \$11 a month.

As in so many like communities all over the continent there is good farming land just beyond the lines of the narrow rows of shacks. The land is there, rich and promising while the children of the miners go without milk and green stuff and the miners themselves spend all their meager wages in a losing effort to make ends meet.

There was, however, one thing that most communities lack. There was a man in Granger who saw that there was just one way to raise the living standards of the miners and free them from their bondage to seasonal employment. Father Ligutti, since elevated to the rank of monsignor, believed that the answer to the problem lay in the soil beyond the mines. He was a firm believer in the agrarian-decentralist philosophy of balancing industrial employment with a life on the soil.

With this idea in mind Ligutti mapped out a plan for a new community on the outskirts of Granger. He took an option on 250 acres of rich Iowa cornland. His plan called for the erection of 50 modern homes, allowing a few acres of productive land with each home. He believed that such homes could be built on a cooperative basis so cheaply that the monthly payments would be little more than the sum paid as rent for the company shacks.

The greatest problem faced by Ligutti was the raising of the capital necessary to start the project. He could find no institution or individual who believed as he did in subsistence farming. Those who believed they understood the miners declared bluntly that the miners wouldn't know how to care for decent houses. They believed that once the miners were moved into good homes they would allow them to go to pieces until they reached the same level of the houses they had occupied all their lives.

Ligutti's homestead project became possible only when the present administration set up its Subsistence Homesteads Division. Ligutti's project was one of the first approved under the new law. Approved in 1934 it was February 1935 before governmental red tape became unwound sufficiently for the building contracts to be awarded.

The houses were finished in October 1935, but it was December before electricity was turned on and the 50 families moved in. The long period of waiting had discouraged the would-be home owners. Throughout this period it was Ligutti's enthusiasm and energy that kept the miners together. When they finally moved into the homes the triumph was really Ligutti's.

Ligutti's original idea was to have each home owner do a large share of the actual building of the home during the summer slack period when the mines were closed. But this was not allowed by the Bureau in charge of the project. The contracts were awarded to local contractors and all work was done by them. As a result the homes which should have been built for approximately \$2,500 actually cost \$3,500. But, as Ligutti points out, the Government was the only source from which he could obtain the necessary funds. Thus the added costs and delays caused by red tape were unavoidable. Even with these added costs, however, the Granger homesteads were a success from the start. All charges connected with the project—interest, taxes, insurance, and amortization—amounted to an average of \$14.75 a month per house, about \$3.75 a month more than these miners had paid for the shacks they rented from the mining companies.

With the houses built and the miners moved in, Ligutti then faced the problem of proving that the miners would carry on successful subsistence farming. Most of them were of Croatian and Italian stock. In the old country their fathers had carried on subsistence farming. But in America they had almost lost their link with the soil.

The feeling of ownership had been all but lost by these men. It was Ligutti's job to bring that pride and self-reliance to life once more.

Ligutti tells a story that is rather indicative of what that feeling does to a family. In the spring of the year he persuaded one miner to buy a brood sow. Under his persuasion the family got together the few necessary dollars and made their investment.

On the eve of their son's wedding the couple came weeping to Ligutti. The pig had broken out of its pen in the night and wandered off somewhere. Their misery was twofold. With the marriage of the son the home was losing a good breadwinner. On top of that the pig was gone.

Ligutti comforted them as best he could. The next morning he saw the younger son of the family on his way to school. The boy was whistling so happily that Ligutti asked him why all the good cheer.

"O Father," the boy said, "the pig came back last night."

Ligutti smiled. "So the pig came back. But how about John? You're still losing him, aren't you?"

"To heck with John," the boy said promptly, "the pig came back."

This was the feeling that Ligutti had been trying to instill in the people. In the case of that Croatian family it had begun to work. The pig was productive property, symbol of the new life on which they were embarked. All over the homestead community the same thing was happening. Families that did not work a foot of ground the first year caught the feeling from others and began to put in gardens, began to raise the odd pig and the flock of chickens.

In the fall of 1937 a Thanksgiving banquet was held in the parish house. Everything served at the banquet, with the exception of spices, came from the homestead acres. At the same time a survey showed what had happened. That year the housewives put up 15,000 quarts of fruits and perishable vegetables. The 50 homesteaders had raised more than 500 bushels of potatoes and over 1,000 bushels of other vegetables. There were 28 cows and calves, 79 pigs, and more than 1,500 chickens scattered throughout the community. And that was a year of severe drought in Iowa.

The figures for 1938 are not completed yet. But Ligutti figures that the farm output has been doubled. The man who had a pig in 1937 now has several fattening. The gardens are larger and more productive, the flocks of chickens larger and better. These miners have in 2 years learned how to farm. They have learned how to utilize the hours and days spent out of the mines. But, more important than anything else, is the dawning sense of their own self-reliance.

In these homes into which they moved in 1935 most of the miners had their first bath in a modern bathtub. For the first time they had central heating and a home that could be kept clean. The old shacks in the mining camps were filthy because it was impossible to keep them clean. There was squalor and poverty because squalor and grinding poverty was part of the set-up under the circumstances.

Today the children of the miners are for the first time getting a sufficiency of fresh milk, eggs, and green vegetables because the only way under Heaven for them to get such things was to have them raised in their own gardens.

The average wage of the miner is still about \$800 a year, or \$66.66 per month, the same income that before failed to provide the family with wholesome food and decent living conditions. The mines always closed in the spring, leaving the miners to live in idleness during the summer. Now the whole family works all summer on the homestead acres, raising a subsistence crop that leaves the \$800 free to provide a higher standard of living.

Even more marked than the change in the miners is the change that has taken place among the children. In the mining-camp days the boys ran wild in the dirty streets. There was nothing constructive for them to do. So destructive traits and habits grew out of the idleness.

When the Granger homesteads were built, Ligutti laid out a plan of practical education for the children. In connection with the parochial high school, he set up a system of manual training that has changed the habits and outlooks of the boys.

Ligutti's assistant, Father John J. Gorman, knows his boys. He took charge of their training. He and the boys built a workshop from foundation to roof. They installed simple machinery for woodworking, blacksmithing, and mechanical work. In that shop Gorman has trained the boys in the mechanical side of farming. He teaches them to make implements used on the farm, the furniture for the home.

When a boy gets through with Gorman's course he is a practical farmer, for, along with mechanical training, goes training in landscaping, the grafting of fruit trees, beekeeping, and a dozen other income-producing lines.

Ligutti goes still further than mere manual training for his boys. He watches them, ready to advise and direct them in new lines. When one boy graduated from high school and began to look around him for a job, Ligutti started him raising white rabbits. Today that boy has a lucrative business. He has shown his rabbits at State and county fairs and is working up a reputation as a source of breeding stock for others going into the business.

This boy sells his breeding stock and wool. But, looking ahead, Ligutti sees the community spinning the wool and turning it into the fabrics that will multiply the cash return to the home.

Just as the boys are being trained in all branches of farming, so the girls of the homesteads are being trained in homemaking. They are trained in home economics, in spinning, canning, and all the arts of the household. More important, they are being taught that homemaking is a dignified profession; that life on the farm can be finer and better than in any industrial community.

The Granger homesteads are unique in the State of Iowa. All around them stretches the tragic evidence of what commercial farming has done to a rich and prosperous State. You approach the Granger homesteads through vast fields of corn. Everywhere one can see corn and hogs and steers. The farmers raise the corn and feed it to the stock for the Chicago market. Calling themselves farmers many of them buy practically everything that appears on the family table.

They sell their hogs and steers and buy their meat by the pound from the local butcher—meat that went to Chicago on the hoof and returns to them with all the charges of centralized handling added. They turn all their acres into corn and in some cases buy even the vegetables they serve with the meat.

As a result the appalling figures of tenancy in Iowa mount steadily. The farmer, after years of such commercial farming loses his land and thereafter drifts from farm to farm as a tenant. Working the richest soil in America the Iowa farmer has lost ownership and become a glorified hired hand.

In the towns and cities the small industries are to be found. When the harvest is gathered the industries boom. Throughout the winter there is work. In the spring the machinery stops. Factory workers, mill hands, and miners live in poverty and idleness through the summer, waiting for the harvest while bills pile up, while the whole population of the State goes a little deeper into

bondage to the money masters who now own more than 50 percent of the farms of the State.

It is because of this that the Granger homesteads are so vitally important. Here we have a glimpse of what can be done with people who were at the bottom of the social scale. They were sunk deep in poverty and hopelessness and have come up out of the slough on their own power. By the simple process of wedding the productive soil to their productive labors they have worked something akin to a miracle.

There are other basic problems to be worked out. The problem of financing must be solved. If sources of financial backing can be discovered, such homesteads can be set up almost anywhere on the fringes of what are now industrial slums at prices that any group of workmen can easily meet when subsistence farming is linked to part-time employment.

The present administration made the Granger homestead experiment possible. But, to repeat, red tape and administrative costs have added too much to the final cost of building. Even at those prices the Granger homesteads represent an unqualified success in community building. Cut those costs, however it may be done, and the sweep of such homestead building will multiply until it becomes a basic national pattern.

If Father Ligutti can do this at Granger, Iowa, we as a nation certainly can do it all over the country, and we would probably cut our relief load to one-third of its present amount. What a saving, not only in money but in the morale of our citizenry reflected in the happiness, lives, and contentment which they could not help but enjoy when moved from the slums, huts, and hovels in which a great majority of our poverty-stricken people are forced to dwell today.

Talk about your old-age pensions. Talk about your homestead-lien laws. We do not have to worry about them if we would put this suggestion into effect. For the homes which we would build today with ordinary care and usage would still be there just as good 50 years from now, useful during the intervening years not alone as a monument to the foresight and vision which we will express when we build them into a new era in our relief problems, but also in the meantime having been useful for the housing of another generation and possibly two in the family of the builder and first occupant. How do I know they would be there after 50 years? Because our finest homes in America today are homes like Mount Vernon, Monticello, and other magnificent homesteads built 50, 100, or 150 years ago. How do I know we would not have to worry about old-age pensions? Because it is on this exact basis of a home and a piece of land that my own parents, now nearly 80 years old, are still providing for themselves as they have for many years.

Of course, we could not take care of all our relief cases in this way, but you must agree that we could make great progress in the family life of America and we could relieve the W. P. A. from a large share of its load. We could not do away with it entirely, but the part which we would have to retain would be so infinitesimal as compared to the tremendous burden which we have loaded onto the W. P. A. during the past few years that it would be a minor incident among the appropriations of Congress.

There are other things, too, which could be done in addition to the suburban homes and garden building program which would be sound and constructive and of a real productive and permanent value in terms of the building of better lives and a better Nation. For instance, such things as the building of waterworks, sanitary sewers, conservation and flood-control projects, highways, and the extension of telephone and electric-light lines to every home in the far corners of America's countryside could and should all be done.

In my own district in Minnesota right now we have a dozen villages asking and waiting for help in the financing of their needed water and sewer systems or extensions, the building of schools, and other public improvement projects. These, too, will create work in a constructive way. Why should we restrict them as we are doing? Why not provide the necessary revolving fund so projects of this sort can get under way?

I suggest therefore that we recommit this bill with instructions to the committee to bring in a real relief-appropriation bill, one which will be sound and constructive and which will give us value received for our dollars expended; one which will create for the needy of America homes which they

can be proud to possess and to live in; homes and environment which will make patriotic, loyal, and energetic citizens who will be glad that they live at the new frontiers in free America under a glorious democracy, where the individual and the home are secure and supreme. With \$1,716,600,000 do you know that we could build 49,457 $\frac{1}{2}$, \$3,500 homes like Father Ligutti has built at Granger, Iowa, each year? And in building them rebuild business and every individual in America?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield now to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. GRIFFITH].

Mr. GRIFFITH. Mr. Chairman, I think that the Committee is to be congratulated on the splendid work which they have done in bringing out this bill. I think that the bill is a good one, and I am going to vote for it. I am disappointed, however, that more funds were not provided for N. Y. A., and I will vote for an increase over the amount provided for by this bill because I have heard more favorable comments on what has been accomplished by N. Y. A. and the C. C. C. camps than I have heard about any of the other emergency relief agencies. I will discuss this later in this speech.

I do want, however, to criticize section 12 of title I, which reads:

None of the funds made available by this title shall be expended on construction of any building the estimated total cost of which exceeds \$25,000 unless the building is one upon which the construction is in progress on June 14, 1939.

It is my opinion that if this section 12 of title I is adopted as written, that it will prevent the sponsoring of many worth-while projects and will necessitate the employment of the W. P. A. workers in many communities on worthless projects. I think that this section should be amended to increase the amount and change the date from June 14 to read either July 1 or until the bill becomes a law.

In my own district a bond issue has been voted, the bonds sold, and the money deposited in the bank by the sponsors for the purpose of constructing a very necessary school building, to replace the three-story brick building which was rendered untenable in January of this year because the foundation had given way, and which it is estimated will cost slightly in excess of \$100,000. The project was submitted through channels and was favorably acted upon by the W. P. A. agencies both in Louisiana and Washington, and the President gave his approval by signing the project about 2 weeks ago. The only reason work has not started on the project is because all the W. P. A. workers in that community have been employed in finishing up another project. This other project is the constructing of a brick school building for Negroes of that community to replace a wooden structure which had been destroyed by fire about 14 months ago. This was a \$35,000 project and will be finished in about 1 week or 10 days.

If section 12 remains in this bill unchanged, this community which I have mentioned will be deprived of this much-needed and necessary building. Besides nearly 200 of the relief workers will be deprived of any worth-while projects upon which to work, and 400 children will be forced to continue to use lodge halls and churches as school rooms for an indefinite period. The relief workers will be forced to work on useless projects as they did in the days of the C. W. A. We of the South can recall those days, when the relief workers' principal employment was cleaning ditches along the highways and throwing the dirt on the shoulders of the roads, and after each rain it was washed back into the ditches from which it was again removed many times, or until worth-while projects were sponsored by the various subdivisions of State. It was because of this class of work that the relief workers received so much unfavorable criticism and were the butt of so many jokes. It was this class of work that broke the morale of the workers, because it made them realize that they were on a dole and were not accomplishing anything worth while.

You may say to me that this class of work should be handled by the P. W. A.; in answer to that I will say that probably

you are right, but when this emergency occurred the P. W. A. had no more funds available and were legally prohibited from approving any more P. W. A. projects. You might further state that this project should be withdrawn as a W. P. A. project and submitted as a P. W. A. project. You all know that it will be impossible to handle the P. W. A. projects which have already been approved and are now awaiting appropriations with the money that will be provided by this bill. You might further ask, What will be done for the relief workers when this project is completed? In answer I will say that this work will last for about 10 or 12 months; then I do not know what will happen and I do not think that any of you know; probably there will be no necessity for relief work. The same community which I have mentioned has bled itself white providing funds with which to pay the sponsor's part on worth-while projects so as to prevent our unemployed people from doing useless work that benefited no one and broke the morale of the workers.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Committee, this project that I have mentioned serves a community of about 5,000 people and is located in a town with a population of 3,000. This town of which I speak is my home town.

I sincerely believe that it will be unfair to my people, who have placed upon themselves a burdensome responsibility in good faith, believing that they were aiding their Government in providing worth-while work for their fellow citizens and at the same time procuring badly needed school facilities for the children of all, including the children of the W. P. A. employees.

I have heard other Congressmen say that they had projects the status of which was similar to the one of which I have just spoken.

I feel that 3 or 4 weeks' extension would go far toward remedying these unfortunate situations; and I feel sure that an increase over the \$25,000 limitation for projects would greatly help and not cost the Government additional money. The small amount allowed will affect not only the cities but the rural communities, an example of which I have just cited you.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GRIFFITH. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Does the gentleman know that if this provision of the committee is permitted to stand, cutting the Budget estimate of N. Y. A. \$42,000,000, that it will have the effect of depriving 600,000 boys and girls who are now walking the streets and highways of the country looking for jobs of an opportunity to go to school next year?

Mr. GRIFFITH. I so understand.

THE N. Y. A. PROGRAM

When one considers the magnitude of the youth problem, it is clear that the amount of the appropriation for the National Youth Administration is not a simple matter of arithmetical calculation. There are nearly 5,000,000 young people in the age group reached by the National Youth Administration who are out of school and unemployed. To extend the present N. Y. A. program to all of them would require an annual appropriation of approximately \$1,200,000,000. This would make no provision for the group in school and college who are only able to continue their education through the assistance they receive from the N. Y. A. student-aid program. Here again the present annual expenditure of \$22,000,000 would have to be greatly increased if the entire need were to be met.

Since the National Youth Administration on its present appropriation of \$75,000,000 a year could not hope to meet the entire problem, it has proceeded on the principle that its first responsibility should be the working out, on an experimental basis, of a sound formula for meeting the needs of these young people at a low-unit cost. Part-time employment on projects of public value has been the heart of its program but it has been possible to rally community resources in the field of training, vocational guidance, health, recreation, and other activities designed to make young people better able to make their way in the world. This has

been achieved through maximum decentralization of control and integration of the N. Y. A. program into the community so that there might be the best adaptation to local needs and the best use of local resources. In this way a well-rounded program for unemployed youth has been developed at a cost to the Federal Government of \$20 a month for each young person.

After 4 years of operation this pioneering in a new field has developed a body of experienced personnel and a method of operation which could be expanded indefinitely without changing the essentially economical and adaptable character of the program. The reasons for its expansion at this time appear to be fairly obvious. From a strictly financial point of view it would seem a good investment. These young people are potential producers and consumers; some way must be found to include them in our economic set-up if that set-up is to function on a healthy basis. From a political point of view a democracy cannot afford to ignore the needs of its young people; the frustration of the mass of young people, deprived of all hope for the future, has proved a fertile ground for antidemocratic doctrines in other countries. But the most compelling reason is the crying need of these young people themselves for work experience, for the chance to earn a small income, and for guidance in finding their place in a changing world.

Because of its limited funds the National Youth Administration has been obliged to limit participation in its work program largely to young people from families actually receiving some form of public assistance. It has, in fact, been able to reach only a part of this group and has never been able to give much more than moral recognition to the compelling needs of those unemployed young people in families that have struggled to keep off of relief by farming and low-paid wage employment with an annual income frequently below that of the W. P. A. security wage. There is little difference to the young man of 20 years, who can get neither job nor the help that he needs toward getting future employment, if his father works for the W. P. A. at \$23 a month or clears \$150 at the end of the year on his cotton crop. It is partly in an effort to get away from this discrimination and extend its program to at least a part of this large group that the National Youth Administration is seeking an increased appropriation.

In addition to its work program the National Youth Administration hopes to make some increase in its student-aid program. Here the problems are somewhat different, but the investment appears equally sound. It has become apparent that free public schools do not in themselves assure the education to able young people that a healthy democracy requires. Not only is an educated citizenry essential to democracy but it is economically advantageous to keep our young people profitably engaged in school rather than prematurely flooding the labor market because of the pressure of family poverty. Here, again, a small investment of Federal funds—average \$6.45 a month for each student—yields high returns in terms of the general welfare. There are many young people eager for and equally deserving of this assistance whom the National Youth Administration has not been able to help.

Both the student-aid and work programs have particular significance in those areas where low per-capita income, combined with high birth rate, make it a financial impossibility for local communities to give their young people the start in life which they so eagerly wish for them. It appears consistent with our growing sense of national responsibility that the Federal Government should use its resources to equalize opportunity in all parts of the country so that all of its young citizens may be adequately prepared for the responsibilities of democracy. The National Youth Administration has developed a program which makes this possible without in any way doing injury to local initiative or the traditional responsibilities of States and communities in the field of education.

I herewith give you a résumé of the National Youth Administration for Louisiana:

WORK-PROJECT PROGRAM

The present annual allotment to Louisiana for this phase of the program which is to provide work experience and training for out-of-school unemployed youth between the ages of 18 and 25 is \$1,389,639.

The present allotment is sufficient to assist on the average only 5,500 youth per month. There is a turn-over on the work-project program of approximately 400 youth per month, a total of 4,800 youth per year. Therefore, we are actually assisting with the money available approximately 10,300 youth per year.

There is available for assignment today 6,000 youth. These have already been certified as eligible by the Louisiana Department of Public Welfare. Therefore, if these youth are taken care of along with our present average load of 5,500 youth per month it would mean that we could employ per month an average load of 11,500 youth. For this there would be needed approximately \$1,450,000 additional or a total expenditure would be necessary of approximately \$2,839,639, as against the present allotment of \$1,389,639.

The Biggers Unemployment Survey of 1937 showed that there were in Louisiana 30,278 youth between the ages of 15 years and 25 years who were out of school and unemployed. It is estimated that of this number approximately 24,500 youth were between the ages of 18 and 24. If we could assign the total number of 11,500 youths, there would still be uncared for 13,000 youth.

STUDENT-AID PROGRAM

A. School aid

There was made available to 693 high schools during the current year ending June 30, 1939, \$139,482 for high-school aid for youth between the ages of 16 and 24. This took care of 3,362 youth in the Louisiana high schools, both public and private. These youth were selected by the parish superintendents of education in each of our 64 parishes in the State.

B. College aid

There was made available to 25 colleges in Louisiana \$235,485 to be used to aid needy students between the ages of 16 and 24 at a maximum rate of \$15 per month. There were assisted in the State 2,423 college students. These youth were selected by the head of the institution in which they were enrolled.

C. Total student aid

The total number of youth granted student aid was 5,785 and the total cost was \$375,377.

D. Additional high-school aid needed

There has been received to date from the parish superintendents of education in Louisiana 7,087 applications for eligible high-school youth who could not be taken care of with the present available funds. To take care of these needy high-school boys and girls would require an additional \$382,698.

E. Additional college aid needed

There have also been received from the college presidents 8,700 applications from eligible students who could not be taken care of due to lack of funds. This would necessitate an additional \$1,174,500.

To summarize, there were 15,787 needy youth, who applied for aid in order to continue their education, whom we were unable to assist. The additional money necessary to help these youth secure the bare necessities that they might continue their education is \$1,557,198. [Applause.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BATES].

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, as we are now approaching the end of this debate on this very important matter affecting the Nation both from the standpoint of public expenditure and also from the standpoint of taking care of the needs of the unemployed of the country, I find myself tremendously interested in some of the provisions of the bill, particularly relating to the allocation of Federal money to the various States of the Union. Only a few days ago on another matter pertaining to the social-security program, I illustrated where some of our States are exempting

local real estate and factory buildings from taxation and then coming to the Federal Government for money to take care of a relief problem which they should assist in themselves by taxing those in their own States who are well able to pay. It was interesting in reading the report of the special investigating committee that is studying the Works Progress Administration to observe what the Governor of one of our States had to say, and because of what he did say I am tremendously interested in the percentages that are being applied to the allocation of money under this relief bill. Among other things the Governor of the State of Louisiana, in answer to a question, said that he had gone to New York City and there gathered together 150 leading businessmen of the country. He said further, "We met in New York, and I talked to those gentlemen, and the result has been that we brought \$17,000,000 of industries into the State of Louisiana."

Mr. DEROUEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Yes.

Mr. DEROUEN. Does the gentleman not think that it is a very proper thing for this man to go and create employment for the unemployed?

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. I find no fault at all, because I think that is the task of every Governor of every State, to do everything he can to build up the industries of the State and to provide employment for its people, but what I do object to is that in a State like that, which is so prosperous, where employment is so good, that it depends on the Federal Government to assume substantially the entire cost of relief in that State. The Governor says Louisiana is the most prosperous State in the Union.

If that is so, then they are well able in Louisiana to assume a much larger share of the cost of relief than they are at present.

Mr. DEROUEN. Is it not true that in every State, no matter what the condition of prosperity, there are groups that cannot be employed or offered work at once? Do you know that the Governor of Louisiana ranks as one of the outstanding Governors and businessmen of the United States?

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. There are always with us the unemployed, and the problem is very critical in some parts of the country, and the tax burdens are extremely high, but even in those sections where unemployment is high and taxes heavy the communities are bearing a substantial part of the relief cost, and I say that in those communities that are more prosperous they should do the same.

The question I am concerned about is that the State of Louisiana and other States of the Union, by legislative enactment and constitutional changes are exempting residential and other properties from local taxation. Homesteads are exempt up to \$5,000 of the assessed value, and that assessed value representing only one-half of the real value. Those properties are exempted from the payment of any taxes whatever. Therefore, in losing a substantial revenue from this source, which I understand this year will be over \$3,000,000 in Louisiana, they find themselves unable to contribute to the cost of relief in the same proportions as other States are compelled to do.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CASEY].

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, yesterday we witnessed one of the greatest performances of swaying the House of Representatives that I have seen during my 5 years' experience. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM], with his pleasing, attractive personality, with his talents and unquestioned ability, left this House absolutely limp with emotion after his address of yesterday. I would not have dared try and oppose that speech then, because of the state of mind in which he left this House. He played upon the emotions of this House like a concert pianist might play upon his piano. He did a beautiful job—a magnificent job.

In the first place, while we had a W. P. A. bill to consider, while we have the matter of how we are going to treat those who are destitute and in need, those who are out of work through no fault of their own, he did not immediately go into that problem, you will notice. First, he created a state of mind about Communists. First of all, he insinuated into our minds the idea that Communists are bad people for the United States. We all knew that. Every one of us knew that, but the beautiful job he did on it made me close my eyes and try to retain that picture of him and try to remember his words, so that when I go back home to my district in the next campaign I might try to imitate that speech. It is always popular. I am going to condemn Communists. I always have condemned Communists. It is good politics. I do not have any of them in my district. If I have, I do not know them. I have never seen one, but I am going to condemn the Communists, because if I can get every anti-Communist vote in my district, I will win unanimously.

We all said, "The gentleman from Virginia certainly gave the Communists a ribbing." We felt good about that.

Second, before he went into the merits of his talk on W. P. A., he very ably and cleverly insinuated into the minds of we people from the hinterland the idea that New York City was favored over other sections of the country. You and I know that there is prevalent throughout this country a feeling of resentment against the city of New York; a feeling that New Yorkers are pretty smart, suave, smooth, and clever, and that they know more than the rest of us. We people from the hinterlands only go to New York occasionally. When we go there we are on a good time. We enjoy ourselves. We probably keep it from the family when we go back home, but we had a good time in New York. New York is a nice place, but not a good place to live, and so forth. So the feelings of the people from the hinterlands, from Podunk Corners, their natural antipathy for New York were played upon, and then the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] got off to a running start. But I submit to you gentlemen, now that we have calmed down and are no longer sentimental schoolboys but mature men of deliberative judgment, that we ought to be capable of analyzing plain and simple facts without our emotions sweeping us off our feet. If we do that, what do we find? If we analyze this bill from the standpoint of a mature, deliberative, legislative body, we find first of all that this bill came from a committee composed of men who, I say, are not particularly friendly to the liberal tendencies of this administration, whether they be Republicans or Democrats; from a committee that has hitherto cut W. P. A. appropriations. In other words, I say that this bill that is supposed to sponsor an appropriation for W. P. A. came from the enemies of W. P. A.

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. I cannot yield. I do not have time. The fact that the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] and the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] agree almost in toto shows it is a reactionary bill. To call it conservative would be to misname it. It is a reactionary bill.

In the first place, the President asked for \$1,477,000,000. Although the gentleman from Virginia said, and I quote:

There was no effort or sentiment in the committee to reduce it less than the Budget.

I claim that statement is in error. It is in error, because there was earmarked from this amount that the President has asked for, from this amount which the Budget has approved, \$125,000,000 for P. W. A. Now, why? This is not a P. W. A. bill. No one from P. W. A. came and asked for any money. It was unsolicited. It was committee action. For what purpose? To scuttle the W. P. A. appropriation that was approved by the Budget, that was recommended by President Roosevelt to the tune of \$125,000,000.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. I yield.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. And furthermore to scuttle the possibility of a real P. W. A. bill coming in?

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Absolutely. I have no quarrel with P. W. A.

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. I will not. I do not have time.

Mr. O'NEAL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky, a member of the committee.

Mr. O'NEAL. Is the gentleman not aware that there is a P. W. A. bill known as the Starnes bill, which has been referred to this committee for action? It is not here for discussion. Why not put this appropriation for P. W. A. in the Starnes bill instead of in the W. P. A. bill?

If the gentleman will yield, Mr. Chairman, the gentleman said there was nothing before our committee.

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. There is nothing before the committee now?

Mr. O'NEAL. We had, at his direct request, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STARNES] before our committee, asking \$500,000,000 for P. W. A.

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Then why not put P. W. A. funds in a P. W. A. bill; why take part of the W. P. A. funds; why reduce the amount the Budget asked for W. P. A.; why take from the amount recommended by the President \$125,000,000? When you do this you do what? You do not give employment to as many people as the gentleman from Virginia said. Under this bill he said we will give employment, it is estimated, to 2,000,000 people. He said we have cut it one-third. We have 3,000,000 people employed during the current year. They have cut it more than one-third. He is in error. They have not only cut it from 3,000,000 workers to 2,000,000 workers, but they have cut it below 2,000,000, for the \$125,000,000 would have taken care of 200,000 additional. So the bill provides employment for only 1,800,000.

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Not now; I have not time.

Mr. LAMBERTSON. I am a member of the committee.

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Then I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. LAMBERTSON. The gentleman says that this committee is not liberal. Is it the gentleman's interpretation that because we believe in saving we are not liberal? We are liberal in the Teddy Roosevelt sense. Is that the gentleman's interpretation?

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. I am not going to make any interpretation, except to say that the gentleman is conservative under his own estimate of himself.

Mr. LAMBERTSON. The gentleman does not believe—

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I do not yield further.

Mr. Chairman, let us consider the W. P. A. bill as the gentleman from Virginia asked us to consider it here. We have a W. P. A. program that has completed 226,000 projects, yet the gentleman from Virginia focuses our minds upon what? Upon a world's fair building in New York City. Not only does he focus our attention upon a world's fair building in New York City at this time but you will recall that he did it when the emergency appropriation was before us. I can remember twice, maybe three, maybe four times, that he has used the example of this world's fair building as a horrible instance of W. P. A. misuse of funds, one example; and he has been forced to repeat it for two, three, or maybe four times to impress you how bad W. P. A. is. Out of 226,000 projects, he is forced to use one example at least twice before this Committee.

In addition, also, he has injected into your minds prejudices against the W. P. A. because of the North Beach airport project. You will remember he told you that when a W. P. A. worker in your district got \$85 or \$100 a month they send him home, but not so on this New York project, where workers got as high as \$150 and \$200 per month. He neglected to tell you, however, that the differences in wages

was paid by the city of New York; that \$16,000,000 was put into this project by the city of New York.

I fail to see how cutting people from the W. P. A. rolls is going to help the little merchants, shopkeepers, and so forth, and through them big business. I shall move for an appropriation of \$2,250,000,000 to employ 3,000,000 men and women. In voting for my amendment we shall be supplying purchasing power which will create an ultimate consumer demand for goods that will force production up to the point where fuller employment in private industry will result. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HEALEY].

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Chairman, 4 minutes, of course, is not adequate time in which to discuss the vital measure before us, but there are several features of this bill on which I would like to comment. These features I believe will seriously hamper the administration of W. P. A. and will greatly curtail and restrict the benefits of the program, particularly to persons in the urban centers.

I have just listened to the comments of the gentleman who preceded me, my colleague from my own State [Mr. CASEY], with reference to the provision in this bill taking away \$125,000,000 of W. P. A. funds and allocating the same to P. W. A. As he has indicated, the transfer of these funds from W. P. A. to P. W. A. will not result in providing an equivalent measure of unemployment relief to compensate for the loss to W. P. A. rolls. My information is that the cost to the Federal Government for providing 1 year's work for one man on a P. W. A. project is approximately three times as great as the same cost on a W. P. A. project. It has been estimated that the deduction of \$125,000,000 will further curtail the W. P. A. rolls by about 170,000 persons. With the same amount P. W. A. can provide for only about one-third of that number. I do not mean these words as in any sense critical of the public-works program. I feel the Public Works Administration has done a very splendid job in performing a task very vital and important to our Nation. I heartily favor a further adequate appropriation for its continuance. However, we are now considering a problem which is essentially a question of relief—a question of providing sustenance to the needy unemployed. No one can seriously contend that \$125,000,000 can inject any real new life into P. W. A. nor that this provision is anything more than a weak gesture in its direction. In a separate bill, let us provide a real P. W. A. appropriation.

Even the full amount provided in this bill is inadequate to provide for the 3,000,000 or more persons in this country that have been certified as eligible for W. P. A. relief. It is admitted that if the full sum is left intact we can only provide for about two-thirds of this number, and if we deduct this sum, the net result will be to deprive further thousands of unemployment relief.

These facts are incontrovertible and are known to the committee. There are more than 3,000,000 people who have been duly certified by the certifying agencies as eligible for W. P. A. relief. They have been certified in their local communities; they meet every requisite of necessity for certification, and they have as much claim as anyone else to the benefits of W. P. A. assistance. Yet under this appropriation without any deduction the greatest number that can be taken care of is 2,000,000. How, then, can we justify any deduction from this sum for whatever purpose? It ought to be left intact here. An amendment will be offered to strike out the language setting aside the \$125,000,000 for P. W. A., and I hope the membership will put that money back, restore it in order that we can take care of at least 2,000,000 people under this program. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, there is a well-established routine, a sort of ritualistic ceremonial, which we ordinarily follow in the consideration of all appropriation bills. Under the time-honored custom, the Member in

charge of the bill prefaces his opening remarks by felicitous reference to his colleagues on the committee, and especially to the gentlemen of the minority, and then assures the House there are no politics either in the committee or in the House on the bill reported out for consideration.

Just why a Member of the House of Representatives, when he enters the cloistered precincts of the Committee on Appropriations should immediately divest himself of the habiliments of his trade, and eschew the party principles and party affiliations on which he was elected to Congress, has never been explained, but it is a very happy custom and is seldom neglected.

As a matter of fact there is no occasion for such renunciation. The Government of the United States is a Government by parties. It always has been and it always will be. Jefferson attended to that. We are here because we represent political parties and their respective positions on political issues. It follows, necessarily, that all major enactments have their political phases. That is inevitable.

And the pending bill is no exception to the rule. It deals with matters of universal interest. There is no community in the Nation, either in the crowded depths of the city or in the remotest rural region, that is not intimately and profoundly affected by the provisions of this bill. Approximately 20 percent of the people of the United States have been on W. P. A., and there is not an individual in the mightiest city or the loneliest village in the land that has not enjoyed the advantages of some project, participated in the utilization of some public improvement provided under this program. For that reason, aside from numerous other considerations, the administration and continuation of that program is the absorbing political issue of the day. It will undoubtedly be one of the principal issues in the coming campaign and the subject of emphatic platform declarations by both political parties in 1940.

And this session is the quadrennial political session of the Congress. It is the last session before the election of delegates to the two national conventions.

In some of the States delegates are selected shortly after the first of the year—before the next session of Congress gets under way—and the issues on which the next administration is to be elected must be determined in this session. Already the Presidential campaign is in the offing. Political alignments are in the making. On one side they are already scouting for Roosevelt and anti-Roosevelt delegations. On the other they are rallying in Vandenberg, Taft, and Dewey camps. Opinion is crystallizing. And political medicine is brewing. This Congress is the pot in which it is brewing. And this bill is one of the prime ingredients. The debate on the floor on this bill as reported in yesterday's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD makes that unmistakable.

Let me quote from the remarks of my distinguished friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], in which he vehemently opines that—

Rid of the destructive and reactionary tactics of the Roosevelt administration which tries to keep our people unemployed, we would not be considering a relief bill today.

And decries the Roosevelt administration and the W. P. A. Throughout the debate from his side of the aisle the issue is based on criticism and denunciation of the Roosevelt administration.

And that is to be expected. I have no quarrel with the minority on their choice of an issue. For there is wrapped up in this bill the broader question of the stewardship of the Democratic Party. Has it adopted an effective program? Has it given an honest and efficient administration? Is it, as has been charged, encouraging communism and is it subject to communistic influences?

That is the issue a great national party is drawing here today. That is one of the issues on which they propose to fight out the campaign of 1940.

The bill before us is the first test—the first commitment. I approve of much that is in the bill. I do not approve of some features of the bill. No doubt that is the attitude of practically every member of the committee which reported it.

Probably few, if any, approve everything in the bill. Most any member of the committee, if he had been writing the bill, would perhaps have written it just a little different. Certainly that is true of the gentleman from New York, the ranking member of the committee, who said yesterday he would change it materially if he had his way about it.

And may I take this opportunity to congratulate the gentleman on his party leadership. He is a party man but not a partisan. He is always fair. If minority leadership is an indispensable affliction there is no one who is better qualified for that position.

And if anyone is interested in the subject of party solidarity, and methods of securing party solidarity, let them take a leaf out of the book of the gentleman from New York. In all the months this question has been under consideration the 15 minority members of the Committee on Appropriations have stood behind the gentleman like a solid phalanx, and have voted unanimously with him on every vote. It is a significant commentary when 15 men, from all parts of the country, with many divergent interests, representing rural and urban districts, vote as a unit on every proposition presented in the consideration of any question, and especially one so complicated by conflicting interests as the one before us.

Now we come to the investigation. The Congress and the country are familiar with the procedure of congressional committees of investigation. We have an average of three or four running simultaneously most of the time. Like the poor they are with us always. And there is one way in which they are all alike. As they progress, those in charge of the investigation are prone to become overzealous in the prosecution of the purpose for which the committee was created. And on the other hand those to whose lot it falls to take the other side develop a corresponding enthusiasm in opposition. As a result you find them going to extremes on both sides. It is just human nature.

The present investigation ran true to form. Two classes of witnesses were heard by the committee. The first class was made up of the paid investigators and the witnesses they subpoenaed. The other class consisted of those who appeared voluntarily, the Governors, the mayors, and a representative of the National Conference of Catholic Charities.

The first class of witnesses invariably testified against W. P. A. Everything they brought in was in criticism of some isolated project or some minor detail of local administration. Much of their testimony was irrelevant. Some of it was later recanted. Some of it, as the Administrator said in his statement to the committee was "completely untrue" and a great deal of it was past history and obsolescent.

All other witnesses uniformly commended W. P. A. as serving the purpose for which created, providing worthwhile projects, under efficient supervision and free from political or subversive influence. Look through the hearings of this printed hearings on this investigation. It is a voluminous record but it is worth your time because of the remarkable difference in the cross-examination accorded the two groups of witnesses. Invariably the statements of those who criticized W. P. A. were unchallenged and the only inquiries addressed to them were for the purpose of bringing out further criticism. While the only questions directed at witnesses who commended W. P. A. took issue with the witness and were of a nature to discredit the favorable testimony. Look through the hearings for yourself. And if in all the 1,357 pages you can find one question that challenges a criticism of W. P. A. or one question that approves a commendation of W. P. A., I will—emulating the offer of a gentleman who spoke yesterday—eat every page of the hearings, and I am not particularly fond of that kind of diet.

But the most arresting feature of the evidence submitted in this hearing is the fact that in all the debate on the floor here, in these 2 days, the evidence of those criticizing W. P. A. has been repeatedly cited, while no favorable testimony of those who approved W. P. A. has been mentioned. The committee had before it some of the most eminent men of the Nation, men especially versed in the subject under

investigation and of unimpeachable integrity, testifying under oath, and yet in all the debate in support of this bill there is not a word from any of them, while the testimony of ne'er-do-wells, fired or demoted by W. P. A., men whom W. P. A. had refused to employ, men with a grudge against W. P. A., is set forth in detail.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I regret very much that I cannot yield.

Now, let me give you an example. We had before us a distinguished executive, a man who is making a remarkable record as an administrator, the Governor of Louisiana. And we had before us a Negro on W. P. A., claiming to be a reformed Bolshevik, who testified, incidentally, that if he lost his W. P. A. job he would be destitute—a Negro who gratuitously introduced the name of Mrs. Roosevelt in his testimony with intent to reflect. The testimony of the two men was diametrically opposed. Whose version do you suppose they took? Whose testimony is cited in yesterday's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD? Did they take the word of the Governor or the Negro? They took the Negro.

Mr. Chairman, let us take another instance. The most eminently qualified witness who appeared before the committee during the hearing was Monsignor O'Grady, who has been actively engaged in welfare work since 1912, is the author of books on the subject, and has supervised the construction of hospitals, schools, and other church buildings. He is the secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities and has set up most of the local agencies of that organization throughout the United States. He has within the past year visited more States and more counties in the States and has personally inspected more W. P. A. projects than any other witness who testified before the committee. His testimony is the most pertinent and the most authoritative of the entire hearing.

We also had before the committee a man who had never been able to hold a job in his life. He could not even hold a W. P. A. job. So far as W. P. A. was concerned, he had never been outside his own State until he came to Washington with expenses paid by the committee.

The testimony of these two men did not agree on any point. They testified on the same subjects and in no instance were they in even remote agreement. And yet when the testimony of witnesses was cited yesterday in the debate here by the gentlemen on both sides of the aisle in charge of this investigation, Monsignor O'Grady was not even mentioned. His testimony was ignored and discredited by citation of the unsupported opinions of the ne'er-do-well who had contradicted him.

But the one outstanding feature of this investigation is the attempt to show control of W. P. A. by Communists. It runs throughout the hearings like a scarlet thread—the effort to show subservency by the administration of W. P. A. to subversive elements. More time was given to this feature of the investigation than to any other. Paid investigators were sent out to secure reports on it. Whole sessions of the committee were given to the question as to whether the Workers Alliance was communistic or not, a question wholly beside the point because they were never able to show that the Workers Alliance or the A. F. of L. or the C. I. O. controlled W. P. A. in the slightest. Evidence was submitted showing that all three made efforts to keep their membership on the rolls, and that members of all three organizations were on the rolls, but no evidence was ever produced to show control of W. P. A. by any of them. The lengths to which the committee went in its fruitless effort to tar the administration with communistic control is shown by two illustrations which were incorporated in the printed hearings. One is a facsimile of signatures of Communists in a book presented to a Communist by the name of Banta. The only connection was that these men worked on a W. P. A. project. It was never shown that they or any of them in any way controlled W. P. A., had anything to do with the adminis-

tration of W. P. A., and the book had no more bearing on the investigation than would have such a book signed by Methodists or Populists or Mohammedans. It could not have been admitted as testimony under any law of evidence.

The other was a photostat of a membership card in the Communist Party issued to a Negro woman by the name of Frankie Duty. This woman was never employed by W. P. A. at any time, and testified that she had no connection with W. P. A., and her testimony could not have been admitted by the remotest stretch of the imagination, but it was printed in the proceedings and the photograph of her membership card with it. No court of record would have admitted any of this evidence. It had nothing to do with the investigation authorized by the House. It was a case of the "red" being used as a red herring to confuse the public and leave the impression that somehow, somewhere there was some communistic influence being exerted in the administration of W. P. A.; and the Roosevelt administration is responsible for it and must answer in the 1940 elections.

It was shown that Communists worked on projects—along with every other creed and every shade of political and religious belief—but there was not the slightest testimony to show that the W. P. A. was under any subversive influence. The testimony of every unpaid witness was emphatic in denial of any such connection or control. Every mayor, regardless of party, including prominent men of all parties, and in widely separated sections of the country, testified unequivocally to freedom of the W. P. A. administration from subversive influence of any character.

And Colonel Harrington himself denied positively any possible domination by subversive doctrines or organizations, and specifically gave in detail the relations of the Works Progress Administration with labor organizations and specifically with the Workers Alliance, and testified that—

I can certainly say that so far as my personal feelings have been concerned no improper request has been presented to me by that organization and no demand has been made of me as a demand.

And added:

I have gone into this question of relations with the Workers Alliance in some detail because of the relatively large amount of discussion in the public press on this subject which led me to believe that the situation required clarification. I would be very glad indeed to answer any questions on this matter which the committee may desire to ask me.

Let me digress here long enough to say that Colonel Harrington has demonstrated exceptional qualification for the position which he so ably administers. [Applause.] He is an Army officer, with a distinguished war record, who voluntarily relinquishes the salary of \$10,000 which the position pays and accepts his Army pay of two or three thousand dollars less. He has shown remarkable executive ability, and above all he has demonstrated a spirit of frankness and fairness in his relations with the committee that might well be emulated by many of the paid witnesses brought in to testify. His administration of the office has so impressed even those members of the investigating committee who are out of sympathy with the W. P. A. administration that the committee unanimously incorporated in the pending bill a clause qualifying him for retention as a member of the administration board it proposes to set up. No stronger personal recommendation or more convincing testimonial to the efficiency of his administration could be offered.

In analyzing the efforts of the committee to show connection with communism and bolshevism and similar "isms," it is found that the charge actually applies to no section of the United States except in New York City; and the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] conceded on the floor yesterday that the New York State administrator, Colonel Somervell, has demonstrated his independence of any such influence. The gentleman's statement is characteristic. In a moving peroration, he declaims:

Now, I am not emotional or excited about it, but I want to see an administration of this relief program that will stand up and throw down the gage of battle to these subversive elements that are trying to dominate it. [Applause.]

And then, in the next breath, he tells of sending Colonel Somervell a telegram, as follows:

I sent Colonel Somervell a telegram congratulating him. I said: "I congratulate you for your courageous action in throwing down the gage of battle to any kind of organization, Workers Alliance, Communist, Democrat, or Republican, that seeks to exploit and trample down and use and employ the unemployed people of this country."

First, he demands that they "throw down the gage of battle" and then he tells us they have "thrown down the gage of battle." So apparently all questions of communistic control are satisfactorily disposed of.

Mr. Chairman, I was puzzled by all this interest of the committee investigators in communism by the effort week after week to besmirch with the taint of communism the administration of W. P. A.—and all the more when they were unable to produce any testimony to sustain such an idea and the most credible witnesses that could be produced testified there was no such connection. I could not understand why, instead of asking constructive questions as to the efficiency of the administration of W. P. A., they continually talked about communism in labor organizations until I remembered that statement by Rob Roy McGregor, the famous lobbyist and propagandist, that has now become a classic:

My idea would be not to try logic or reason but to try to pin the bolshevistic idea on my opponent.

The idea is all the clearer when you note the statement of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WIGGLESWORTH] in yesterday's debate to the effect that—

The amazing thing to me, as I have already indicated, is the encouragement which seems to have been accorded to communistic development under W. P. A. by the Roosevelt administration.

Evidently the charge is being urged with the idea of discrediting the Roosevelt administration. And they will go out in the campaign of 1940 and cite the statements made on the floor during the debate on this bill in substantiation of the charge, when, as a matter of fact, not a single shred of evidence has been produced to support it before the investigating committee or before the House. As shown in this debate, they are not appealing to logic or reason. They are merely trying to "pin the Bolshevik idea" on the Roosevelt administration.

Mr. Chairman, I regret that the proceedings of the committee of investigation have been brought up here. It was my understanding they would not be. But as they have been interjected in the debate, I want to call attention to the fact that they show a creditable management of a difficult problem.

When it became necessary to provide either work or charity for millions of unemployed—a situation without parallel in the history of the Nation, or of any other nation—it was necessary to adopt programs, institute agencies, and develop an organization without precedent or blue print. It was necessary to provide and spend money on a scale undreamed of except in time of war. The Roosevelt administration met that situation. It formulated a program covering continental United States. It developed an organization comprising millions of employees. It raised and dispensed billions of dollars. It was an undertaking so vast and so intricate as to stagger comprehension. And the investigation shows that in that stupendous undertaking there is no evidence of corruption or malfeasance on the part of any major official. Of course, in an enterprise of that character without previous experience to serve as a guide, and dealing with every calling, profession, and industry, and with every conceivable class of individuals, there may have been mistakes. That is inevitable. But they have been honest mistakes and they have been corrected, and are being corrected as rapidly as they develop. Colonel Harrington charged before the committee that testimony adduced in the investigation was inaccurate, unfair, and obsolete. And his statement was not challenged by any member of the committee. The conditions which he described were too patent to warrant debate,

and yet, notwithstanding admission of such testimony, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] concedes that:

So far as the honesty and integrity of the administration of Works Progress Administration is concerned, our investigation has not revealed anything to the contrary. [Applause.]

Of course, as the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] says, it was not 100 percent perfect. That is true of any department of the Government, and would be even more true if they were suddenly organized without previous experience. But that is not to the discredit of the administration. More men have been sent to the penitentiary from the Post Office Department, for example, in the same length of time than from W. P. A.

The facts which will stand out when history is written is that the administration of the W. P. A. has been honest, efficient, and effective. It has achieved the purpose for which it was created. It has provided jobs. It has prevented chaos. It has saved privation and suffering. It has brought men self-respect. It has tided the Nation over an abyss, the depths of which cannot be plumbed.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Missouri 1 minute additional, in order to have him tell the House whether he expects to support the bill.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I always take half a loaf in preference to no bread at all. The fact remains that it is not an administration bill. It is not the bill recommended by the President, by the Budget Bureau, or by the Administrator. It was reported out by the unanimous vote of the 15 minority members of the committee who criticize the administration at every opportunity. Of course, on the final vote to report out the bill most of the committee voted for it. But in perfecting the bill in the committee a majority of the Democrats voted in favor of every amendment offered and the bill would have been quite different if left to a majority vote of the Democrats on the committee.

However, the bill is incidental, and the question I have been discussing is the issue raised by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABOR] and the gentleman from Massachusetts, reflecting on the Roosevelt administration, charging communistic control where none has been shown.

The investigation withal marks the Works Progress Administration in its program and its administration as one of the notable economic achievements of modern history.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I now yield to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. OLIVER].

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Chairman, for several hours during the course of general debate on the pending works-progress appropriation for the fiscal year of 1940 I have been listening attentively to the many criticisms and attacks which have been and are being made on this most justifiable activity of the Federal Government.

I have been somewhat amazed at the many critical statements made by various Members of this body and particularly has the bitterness that has crept into this debate surprised me. I make this statement because the experience and history of W. P. A. activity and conduct in my State and in my congressional district has been most praiseworthy.

When this Federal activity was first established to give work relief to needy unemployed employables, the State of Maine was most fortunate in having as its first works-progress administrator a man in whom the greatest of confidence could be and has been placed. I refer to Mr. Albert Abrahamson who obtained a leave of absence from his professional career as professor of economics of Bowdoin College. Under his regime work relief was established on a nonpartisan basis in my State and the administrative staff which he appointed has functioned exceedingly well in this particular connection.

Mr. Abrahamson was eventually replaced by Mr. John J. Fitzgerald and the same policies have been continued in

effect up to the present day. Of course, there have been instances where criticism could be directed toward detailed administrative decisions, but I submit to you that there is not an industrial concern operating in private industry today that does not have a history replete with deeds and acts that could be subjected to the most biting type of criticism. There is not a corporation today operating in this great Nation of ours that, through its administrative and executive offices, has not committed faults based upon prejudice, bias, and self-serving interests. There is not a corporation today which is operating in the United States or in any other nation of the world that does not have within its administrative staff jealousies and unfair conduct of its many employed individuals. So certainly we cannot expect that an administrative activity of the Federal Government involving some three million and more individuals can function without some evidences of unfairness, bias, prejudice, jealousies, and unwise acts. The only reasonable and fair yardstick that can be applied to an activity so wide in its scope and ramifications as the W. P. A. is whether or not that activity has in general functioned reasonably well and to the satisfaction of the majority of the people interested.

In this connection it is most pertinent that I submit to you, Mr. Chairman, some portions of the report made on March 21, 1933, by the State appraisal committee for the State of Maine in connection with W. P. A. activities in my State. This appraisal committee consisted of these following well-known and able citizens of my State:

Dr. Elmer W. Campbell, mayor of Hallowell, Maine; president of the Maine Municipal Association; and director of the division of sanitary engineering, State department of health and welfare.

Pearl S. Greene, head of the department of home economics, University of Maine.

Orren C. Hormell, professor of government, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, and director of the Bowdoin College bureau for research in municipal government.

Franklin W. Johnson, president of Colby College, Waterville, Maine.

Agnes P. Mantor, an instructor at Farmington (State) Normal School, Farmington, Maine, and president of the Maine State Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.

Stephen E. Patrick, State director of vocational education.

F. Arline Richardson, master of the Maine State Grange.

Dr. Owen Smith, president of the Maine State Chamber of Commerce.

As will be noted from the above tabulations, streets and highways, public utilities, public buildings, and other construction work constituted the bulk of the W. P. A. projects carried on in Maine since the inception of the program. Moreover, the great majority of these projects have been sponsored by municipalities. As sponsors the local governments have contributed an increasingly large share of the costs.

The reports from the various municipalities almost without exception indicate that the projects have been worth while and productive of permanent improvements. Some have stated that the works program has enabled them to construct needed permanent improvements which could not otherwise have been undertaken for many years to come. On the other hand, it should be noted that many municipalities report that, desirable as the improvements which have resulted may be, nevertheless, their construction would not have been undertaken by the municipality except as a means of reducing the municipal expenditure for direct relief.

WORK RELIEF AND DIRECT RELIEF

We have been unable to secure reliable and adequate figures as to whether the sponsors' contributions to the costs of projects under the Federal works program have been generally more or less than would have been the cost of maintaining the same persons employed through direct relief; however, it is assumed that work relief for needy unemployed, as represented by the sponsors' contributions, has generally been more expensive so far as actual expenditures are concerned. Certainly, however, the results obtained in the form of permanent improvements and in the improved morale of the workers and their families far outweigh this additional cost of work relief to municipalities. At least this appears to be the unanimous opinion of the municipal officials who have filed reports under the present survey, as municipal officials without exception have expressed the view that work relief is far preferable

to direct relief in caring for employables. One city manager, in reporting for his city, well expressed the general view as follows:

"Here there is but one answer and that is work relief. Enforced idleness turns normal energies into abnormal channels. Ordinarily working men and women have general routines or cycles which are repeated daily, in which employment is the sustaining factor. Remove employment and this same citizen turns into any avenue offering an outlet for seething, pent-up energies. We have tried three methods: (1) Direct relief or dole without work, (2) food and shelter but no cash for work, (3) direct payment of cash for work without any added dole. One has only to see the different mental attitude of the worker in order to arrive at an answer to this problem. This city might have expended \$300,000 on direct relief or the dole during the last 5 years with nothing to show for the expenditure. This would have been the case of direct relief. On the other hand, the city has expended approximately the same amount and is able to look at school buildings, playgrounds, municipal buildings, public improvements, and to gain the use of extended sewer and water mains. We fail to see how the answer could be otherwise."

From such information as the committee has been able to secure, it appears that the contributions of municipalities in Maine to the cost of the work-relief program have more than kept pace with the improvement of municipal fiscal affairs. It has come to the attention of the committee that some communities which are now contributing as much or more toward the cost of works projects than at the beginning of the program are in even worse financial condition at present than they were in 1933. Some municipalities have found it necessary to issue bonds to finance the necessary local contributions to the program, which bonds for the most part remain outstanding. Others have resorted to temporary borrowings, which likewise, in many cases, remain outstanding. Whether this represents a fair picture for the State as a whole, we do not know, but the indication is that the general fiscal condition of our Maine municipalities is little if any better than at the beginning of the works program. On the other hand, many of the municipalities report that their fiscal condition would be much worse at present if the works program had not been set up to assist them in their problems of unemployment relief. In fact, several municipalities have gone so far as to say that the assistance given by the Federal works program in this connection has saved them from virtual bankruptcy.

PROGRAM HAS BEEN BENEFICIAL

In general, therefore, it may be said that the works program has for the most part fairly well covered the field of needy employables in this State; that the program has materially assisted the local communities in carrying the burden of unemployment relief during the past few years; that many improvements of a highly desirable and permanent nature have resulted, so that in many cases the municipalities are several years further advanced in their highway and other construction programs than would have been possible without the assistance of the Federal works program; that the works program has generally been productive of highly beneficial effects not only from the standpoint of the municipalities but from that of the unemployed as well; that the advantages of work relief over direct relief have been conclusively demonstrated by the results of the works program in Maine during the past few years.

In my opinion, the excerpts taken from this report of this group of able citizens substantiate me in my statement that generally speaking, W. P. A. has done a really fine job in Maine when one considers the scope of the problem with which this activity has had to cope. I have taken the opportunity to make this statement in behalf of W. P. A. in Maine because I feel that it is somewhat unfair to judge the whole program only on the evidence of individual sins which have been committed because of the frailties of human nature in some sections of the country. I do not know of any program which could be adopted either from a State standpoint or a national standpoint along the lines which W. P. A. has operated, which would not in the long run reveal the same errors of omission and commission that have been noted here during the several hours of debate on this subject. Furthermore, I feel constrained to call to your attention, Mr. Chairman, a communication received today from Mr. Wendell W. Doherty of Portland, Maine, Secretary of the Portland Musicians' Association. Mr. Doherty expresses his alarm and mental disturbance over the possibility of the Federal music project being discontinued and perhaps placed back upon the responsibility of the various States. I, too, feel that this would be a mistake because I know of the fine work which these citizens of our State have been able to accomplish through the assistance

of this project. I am recording herewith a copy of Mr. Doherty's letter:

JUNE 14, 1939.

Hon. JAMES OLIVER,
United States Representative from Maine.

DEAR MR. OLIVER: On behalf of the Portland Musicians' Association, I urge that when House Joint Resolution 326 is presented that you use your good office to prevent the W. P. A. Federal music project from being turned back to the several States and to have it continue as heretofore.

Many States could or would not continue the music project and the musicians cannot be absorbed by industry on account of mechanized music.

Realizing you will do all possible to avert the position our musicians in Maine would be placed in by their project being turned back to the State by the Federal Government, I am

Respectfully yours,

WENDELL W. DOHERTY,
Secretary, Portland Musicians' Association.

At this point I feel that I should also pay tribute to that type of Federal project that has received probably the most bitter criticism in this House during the past 2 days. I refer to the Federal theater project which, in the State of Maine, at least, has done a most remarkable job, and, in my opinion, is valued most highly by those citizens in Maine who have had an opportunity to be entertained by the fine individuals who have participated in the Federal theater project in Maine. Mr. Albert Hickey, who has been directing this project, has always enjoyed a fine reputation among his fellow citizens and those who have worked along with him on this project have won the good will and approval of our entire State. The only evidence that I have personally, whereby I can judge as to whether or not the Federal theater project is for the benefit and welfare of this Nation, is through the high standard of effort and activity which the Federal theater project in Maine has established for itself. Therefore, it is with regret that I note the apparent overwhelming opinion of the majority of this House for the discontinuance of that activity. As far as I am concerned, if the opportunity presents itself I shall certainly vote against the discontinuance of the Federal theater project, and my decision in this regard is based solely and wholly upon the fine work done by Mr. Hickey and his associates in my State.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, let me add that this Congress must meet the critical problem of unemployment with which this Nation is confronted. Work relief is only a palliative insofar as the permanent solution of this economic paradox of want in the midst of plenty is concerned, but the millions of our Nation who are grasping at this palliative, even as a drowning man would grasp at a straw, definitely need at this time the cooperation of the membership of this House, because the pending bill will provide job opportunities for 2,000,000 of our citizens. But what a small offering this is when we consider the ten to twelve millions of our people who are unemployed. Why do we hesitate to meet this problem of involuntary unemployment boldly and fearlessly? Why should we not furnish all who are willing and able to work the American opportunity of securing a job? Unemployment in this Nation is an absurdity and unless the combined intelligence of the citizens of this Nation is applied to this problem within the reasonably near future, then America, like all other civilizations which have refused to solve this crisis, will collapse and our processes of free institutions and free economy will disintegrate under the force and violence of dictatorship.

W. P. A. activity in the State of Maine, for the most part, has done a good job, and with that experience in mind I not only shall go along with the pending legislation but shall support any and all amendments which may be offered to increase and improve House Joint Resolution 326 to the point where the unemployment needs of all of our unemployed employables may be satisfactorily and justly met.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER].

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, this is the second time during the present session that Congress has been obliged to lay aside other duties and consider legislation to provide re-

lief for the unemployed. This bill covers the fiscal year from July 1, 1939, to June 30, 1940.

When the President, in the name of the New Deal, in June 1933 asked and received from the Congress a blank check in the amount of \$3,300,000,000 for relief and recovery, we were told that an emergency existed. In January 1935, when he demanded and received another blank check for \$4,880,000,000, this was also said to be emergency relief and for recovery. While these were large amounts, there was one redeeming feature in that we only had one relief bill per year. Now we get two a year, and Mr. Hopkins tells us that W. P. A. and relief must be permanent activities on the part of the Government. We are still needing relief and there has been no recovery.

When the last relief bill was up on January 13, 1939, I told the House what I thought about the relief situation, and I shall not repeat today. Suffice it to say that the position of the Republican minority in the House on the question of relief has not changed from the beginning. That position has been consistent and persistent. We have urged from the beginning that when necessary there must be Federal contribution and help to the local communities, but that the administration of relief can best be administered by local authorities who are familiar with local conditions. For my part, I think no one in my district will deny that the local supervisor in the township, for instance, who is personally acquainted with the people who reside in the township, is better able to equitably distribute the taxpayers' money where it is needed and where it will do the most good than is some political, professional, high-salaried social worker or uplifter sent in to do the job on some edict coming out of Washington.

The minority has also insisted at all times that there should be no lump-sum appropriations or blank checks given to the President to spend for such purposes and under such conditions as he might think advisable. In short, we have insisted that the Congress should have something to say about the definition of relief and where the money is to be spent.

When the relief bill was up in January we took the position that there should be an investigation by the Congress as to the future need of relief and that an effort should be made to eliminate the political graft, corruption, and extravagance in the administration of relief.

I have never supported any of the large spending-lending blank-check pseudo-relief bills passed by the Congress. I have never failed to vote for relief for our unemployed and needy when the evidence warranted relief on the part of the Federal Government. Many of these people are not to blame for the condition in which they find themselves. They must be cared for and the American taxpayers want them cared for, but they do not want their money thrown away, wasted, or used in the development of any economic theory or philosophy promoted by New Deal reform.

As we all realize, this bill is somewhat lengthy, somewhat technical, and was not available for consideration by Members of the House until the debate began. I shall, therefore, not go into detail but must accept the interpretation given by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM], the chairman of the subcommittee, and others who have discussed the measure. It is apparent, however, that the Budget estimate of \$1,477,000,000, with the exception of the item of \$125,000,000 marked for P. W. A., is just what the President asked for. In these circumstances, I cannot see how any New Dealer can urge a larger appropriation, because the bill carries exactly what the President says is necessary for W. P. A.

The very able chairman of the subcommittee concedes that this bill contains the first attempt made by the Congress to write into the law matters of W. P. A. policy. This is not a blank-check bill. This is not a spending-lending bill. This bill is not aimed at recovery, and it is not claimed that it is a recovery bill. The fallacious pump-priming theory is not suggested. All of that window dressing and New Deal philosophy has been eliminated, and we have before us a straight relief proposition.

The purpose is to help those needing help. The objective is to get the taxpayers' money into the hands of the reliefer at the least possible expense; in short, to make the efforts of the Congress in behalf of the unemployed count. The terms of the bill specifically eliminate politics in the administration of relief. Penalties are provided, and the fear of God will be put into the hearts of those who have exploited human suffering and distress for the purpose of political gain and party aggrandizement. Who can object to such a bill? I am as much opposed to the New Deal failures as anyone, but I will not vent my feelings on the unfortunate who continue to suffer because of those failures.

Had the demands and supplications of the minority been heeded years ago, money would have been saved to the taxpayer, more relief would have been received by the intended recipients, but possibly not so many deserving New Dealers would have been the beneficiaries of W. P. A. and relief votes on election day. It is heartening to be assured by the committee that with the restrictions and limitations placed in this bill, a body blow will be struck at the relief racketeers, and that more jobs will be available to the needy at less expense to the taxpayers. This bill should prevent increases in the number on relief rolls just before elections as has been the case in the last 6 years.

It is true that this bill presents an effort to limit rather than expand the relief work on the part of the Federal Government. It is true that this bill is a notice to chronic relievers that the Federal Government does not intend to provide for them for all time without any effort on their own part. That is as it should be. This New Deal has done more to destroy the independence, the thrift, and the initiative of certain classes of our citizens than anything of which I can think. The Government does not owe any of us a living without effort on our own part. The days of frugality and thrift are not gone. Evil and unfortunate hours have come upon us, but we must accept the challenge, and it is good to know that the old pioneer spirit, which has made the country what it is, begins to show itself again. This bill will pass the House not by the votes of the Republicans or the Democrats, but by the combined votes of patriotic Republicans and Democrats interested in a common cause—honest relief, honestly administered.

Since January the House has followed the minority recommendation. A subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations has been investigating the administration of W. P. A. The chairman of the subcommittee has told us much about the abuses in administration which we all know existed. It is not only appalling, but it is disgusting, to contemplate the brazen manner in which relief money has been diverted from the reliefer in New York City, Chicago, and other sections of our country.

That W. P. A. funds have been used to influence elections is a certainty. The fact that the New Deal objected, and is still objecting, to the enactment of the Hatch amendment is cogent evidence that possibly this conduct on the part of some W. P. A. officials is winked at, if not condoned. If this bill before us becomes a law, all this will be different. The Government will be able to send the scoundrels to jail. This bill is a prescription that will prevent, or at least minimize, the recurrence of such intolerable conditions.

In these circumstances, what justification can one find for voting against this bill? It will make present conditions better. It will make for honesty, economy, better citizenship, and purity of elections. It will put more money in the hands of the reliefer and less in the pockets of the politician. Of course, I wish that the bill went further and returned the administration of these funds to local agencies, where it belongs, but it is evident that we will have to make two bites of this cherry rather than one. The longer one is in Congress the more he realizes that, after all, worth-while legislation is usually a compromise of views. The Republican minority feels that it is right in this matter. This bill vindicates that feeling, and the country will applaud.

The principal fault found with this legislation comes from the Workers Alliance. This group has opposed every relief

bill since the organization existed. That is, it always wants more money. If we had yielded to its demands, the appropriations for the last year for relief would have been at least double what they were. Yet we have gotten along pretty well. No one has starved, and the taxpayers are still able to meet the obligations. For my part, I prefer to listen to my constituents, and to use my own judgment, rather than follow the dictates of any of these communistic leaders who would destroy our very form of government. These organized marches on Washington instigated by professional agitators do more injury than good to any cause. Threats and coercion have no place here.

I have received numerous telegrams and letters concerning the National Youth Administration appropriation provided in this bill. Propaganda has gone out, especially to colleges and schools throughout the country, that this bill cuts in half current appropriations; that is, that if this bill becomes a law the appropriation for assisting our youth, through our colleges, would be cut in half for the coming year. This is wrong. The amount carried in the bill is \$81,000,000, which is \$3,000,000 more than the program for the current year, but which is \$42,000,000 less than the Budget estimate.

The Budget estimate contemplates an expansion of this work. At the same time, the Budget estimate contemplates a curtailment in W. P. A. employment. It is fine to assist worthy young men and women to go to college. That is not as essential, however, as providing bread, meat, clothing, and shelter for the unemployed man, his wife, and his children. We must make a distinction between those things which are essential and those things which are desirable. How can any Member of this body justify a vote to increase the appropriation to send young men and women to college, and at the same time take off the W. P. A. roll the heads of families who have nothing on which to subsist. Again I say, that just does not make sense, and so far as my schools and recipients of National Youth Administration help are concerned, they will not ask for additional appropriations for this year when they understand the circumstances. The constituents whom I represent are demanding economy in government, necessary relief but no unnecessary luxuries for which the Government must go in debt. I shall support this bill provided it is not amended all out of shape. I shall oppose the Casey amendment, which is the Workers Alliance demand, increasing by \$2,250,000,000 the amount recommended by the President in the Budget. In short, I shall support the bill as reported by the committee. The country as a whole, especially the taxpayers and the unemployed themselves, are indebted to the committee for its non-partisan, painstaking work, its fairness, and last, but not least, its courage. We are not going forward as a country, and our standard of living cannot be maintained, on W. P. A. wages. We must have private jobs furnished by private industry. This result cannot be brought about by threatening, punitive, and destructive legislation. This bill is a step in the right direction.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the remainder of my time to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN]. [Applause.]

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, I entertain a high regard for my genial friend from Missouri [Mr. CANNON], who just preceded me, because he is the chairman of the subcommittee on agricultural appropriations. We have worked in harmony and cooperation for a number of years. The attitude that he expressed here, however, and the position that he has taken with respect to expenditures during this session of Congress at least does not quite square with the position that he has maintained before, and I can prove that by the record. We used to meet down here in the committee hole, and in a characteristic fashion he used to take off those glasses, put them on the table, and then say, "Gentlemen, we have got to economize to the bone." We heard that over and over, week after week, and day after day as we took testimony on the appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture. To show you how this disposition fits in with W. P. A. this year we had under consideration

an item for the control of Dutch elm disease, and I stood shoulder to shoulder with him and fought that item, both the supplementary item that came up from the Budget Bureau and also the item that appeared regularly in the bill. Of course we put the Department of Agriculture on the spot and asked how much of emergency appropriation money had been paid for this item. They gave us the figures, and they are incorporated in the record. They told us that more than \$13,000,000 had been expended out of emergency funds for the elimination of the Dutch elm disease in New England. I was about to have a shock, and my distinguished chairman likewise, over that tremendous expenditure of W. P. A. funds, over which we, the committee, had no control. Whether he is now going to put himself in the position of defending that kind of action I do not know. This is but a small indication of how lump-sum appropriations can be used for purposes not specifically authorized by Congress, and I am sure that my genial chairman will not depart from his customary sound position with respect to such expenditures.

In the course of his remarks today I thought he would say something about the bill, but I must say for him that his remarks reminded me of an incident that comes to me from the days when I was attending school at the University of Minnesota 22 years ago. A very distinguished debate had taken place between a very eminent socialist, Mr. Morris Hillquit, and a celebrated Catholic divine, Msgr. John Ryan. It was my fortune to hear a portion of that series of debates, and I recall as they got along toward the end that Mr. Hillquit, by way of rebuttal said:

The arguments of my distinguished friend remind me of the modern diaphanous gown, the clinging type of gown, that touches everything and covers nothing.

Then, by way of rejoinder, Father Ryan got up and said:

The argument of my learned opponent from New York reminds me of an old-fashioned colonial gown, that flowing type of apparel, that covers everything and touches nothing.

[Laughter.]

I think my good friend from Missouri [Mr. CANNON] exemplifies both of them and I am somewhat disconcerted that he did not give us something with respect to the bill. I am, however, very happy that he is going to vote for the bill when the roll call comes.

In the manner of the old Tennessee preacher who used to have a pattern for all of his sermons and who said about every sermon, "First, I've tells them what I've going to tell them. Second, I tells them, and then I tells them that I told them," let me outline what I shall discuss.

I want to tell you in advance what I want to discuss here. First of all, briefly, something about the general pattern of expenditure as compared with what it was in 1928 and from there on to 1932.

Second, how effective is the spending theory.

Third, a little bit about the investigating committee.

Fourth, that item in the bill dealing with Federal project allocations from W. P. A. funds.

Then the National Emergency Council, and finally a word or two about politics in relief. I shall touch on all of these if time permits.

You know, the spending pattern as compared with what it used to be is rather curious. Under the Hoover administration they followed the philosophy of meeting the farm problem and the unemployment problem by making generous loans to durable goods industries, to insurance companies, to railroads, and to banks, and employing institutions, believing that that was the place to start employment. I am going to admit, as a Republican, that it failed.

Under the Roosevelt administration they placed emphasis at the consumer end, the spending of money on the consumer side, in the hope that it would dribble through the retailer, through the jobber, on to the manufacturer, and then be translated in terms of employment and increased farm prices.

I think the record, without any argument on my part, would indicate that it has substantially failed. Now a new

spending program is in the offing and it is a combination of the two. If you have followed the temporary National Economic Committee, if you have followed the messages from the White House, if you have followed the pattern in the legislation that has been suggested here, you will find that there has been a shift in philosophy and theory, and now there is going to be joint emphasis upon the durable goods and upon consumer expenditures, in the hope that that is going to ring the bell, and stimulate that elusive thing called prosperity.

Is it not rather curious that the figures will indicate that the spending effort has not worked out? As you know, we had a recession in August 1937. It ran along until June of 1938. Now, listen to the relief expenditures that we made just before that recession and during the recession. The high spot was in June of 1937 when we spent \$144,000,000. The low spot was September of 1937 when we spent \$98,000,000. In November we spent \$100,000,000.

Let us look at the present recession which began in November 1938, and is still in progress. W. P. A. expenditures for August were \$193,000,000. That is almost twice as much as the low of the previous recession, and before that time. In December it was \$219,000,000. In March of this year it was \$201,000,000.

Now, we have spent \$60,000,000 per month more than in the months prior to the 1937 decline, and we have spent \$70,000,000 a month more than in comparable months of 1937, and the increased spending, the multiplied spending, has not met with all the anticipations of those who felt that spending was the cure. There are the figures. How will those who insist on spending and still more spending meet the stubborn fact that despite increased spending now, there is a definite lag in business?

I say to you it is with some fear and trepidation and a spirit of uncertainty that I approach increased spending, because it has not solved the problem.

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Briefly.

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. In that connection, with regard to the decline in 1937, will the gentleman not agree that that coincided with a large W. P. A. cut?

Mr. DIRKSEN. No; because the effect of the spending you got, as a result of the spending in the anterior months. It was infinitely higher than it was at any time, so we are still in the trough of the depression. So where does it leave the professional spenders? Nobody will deny the authenticity of these figures.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. No; I cannot yield now.

Let me say a word about the investigating committee. You know it is interesting to note the kind of pressure that has been put on the deficiency committee. Nothing delighted me so much as the militancy and the way the House accepted the challenge in the speech of the gentleman from Virginia yesterday. I believe it is about the first time in many years that I detected a real militant note in this Congress, and I am only too happy to note that it has been coming on. It augurs well for a return of legislative control to the Congress.

Let me tell you what all these folks have been saying about the investigating committee and how they are putting on the pressure. Out in Chicago we have the Artists Union. Just the minute this investigating committee was organized they sent out a little brochure containing information to be written to Members of Congress, to be written to the President, to the Congressman from Illinois, Mr. T. V. SMITH, to the Congressman from Illinois, Mr. JOHN C. MARTIN, and to the Congressmen from the various districts, and to the two Senators from Illinois, to the W. P. A. Administrator, and others. And what was in this information file? Here it is:

The following points should be stressed in all letters to the Woodrum Investigating Committee and to be sent to Congressmen. Denounce the committee for being unfair in its investigation.

That is the information that is going out by the ton. Denounce it because it is unfair.

The hearings have been open and aboveboard. Anyone is privileged to attend. No pressure has been employed. No unfair advantage has been taken of any witness. The material supplied by the investigators has been documented. There has been no captious criticism of W. P. A. There has been no harsh or unsympathetic attitude. The testimony thus far published indicates to any reasonable person that the whole objective of the committee has been to secure documented facts from which to derive sound conclusions in shaping relief legislation.

I sat with the committee and I take issue with the gentleman from Missouri. I sat with him a portion of the time. I take issue with him that there was anything unfair, that the questions were leading particularly. It seems to me that every witness had an opportunity. Nobody tried to put him into a hole. Obviously he was to be on his own mettle when he was answering questions, but it is one of the fairest investigating hearings I have seen in my 7 years' service in the Congress of the United States. I only hope that the committee continues in the same vein, because I do believe that they are rendering a distinct service to the taxpayers, to the people, and to the general welfare of this country.

With reference to the bill that is before us and its purpose, much has been said, for instance, about the restriction whereby the W. P. A. can allocate no funds to any other Federal agency. I think this is a rather happy provision, and I am glad it is in the bill. Under the 1938 act W. P. A. gave \$88,000,000 to other agencies of the Government to spend pretty much as they pleased. This year the Administrator came before the committee and recommended that \$75,000,000 be made available for this purpose. Here is the way they had it broken up: Agriculture, \$24,570,000; Commerce Department, \$604,000; Interior Department, \$9,267,000; Justice, \$48,000; Labor, \$1,150,000; and so on, for an aggregate of \$75,000,000. Let us see how some of this money was expended out of the 1938 relief act, because it will indicate the pattern of future expenditures if this restriction was not contained in the bill.

I just pointed out to you that to eradicate Dutch Elm disease \$13,856,891 W. P. A. money was expended. The disease started in two trees back in about 1930. Today we have 48,000 known infected elm trees, and the number is growing. If you think this is a very efficient expenditure of W. P. A. funds, I have some other notions about it. This activity was carried on out of relief funds and Congress could do nothing more than cherish the fond hope that we might get value received for this expenditure. Is that a defensible course?

They gave to the Department of Agriculture \$122,000 with which to make a study of data for consumers' standards. We can get along without that for a little while. They gave the Department of Agriculture \$3,900 for a laboratory in the Engineering Division, which I do not believe was necessary. It was never developed before. They gave them \$1,321,786 for biological survey, ostensibly to develop refuges and sanctuaries, a wildlife program. I do not care about that so much, although in times of stress and an unbalanced Budget we can do without that pretty well. It could be said of this item that the funds were placed to rather good use and constitute a durable investment to a greater degree than most of such expenditures.

They gave the Forest Service \$6,731,000 for a type of work appropriated for in the regular appropriation bill to the extent of millions of dollars. There is no justification for this sort of thing, and I am happy that the committee has written its restrictions in the bill so that the Congress will maintain control over these functions.

They gave the Home Economics Bureau of the Department of Agriculture \$541,000. The purpose of that was to measure the body sizes of children in the hope of creating standardized sizes for ready-to-wear clothing for children. This may be absolutely necessary, but you know \$541,000 is quite a lot of money.

They gave the Soil Conservation Service \$9,841,669 of emergency funds in addition to the \$21,000,000 that was appropriated regularly for that purpose and over which we had some semblance of control. A portion of that fund is being used in Williamson County, Ill.—I do not see my distinguished friend from that district here—for a project known as Crab Orchard Lake. They purchased 25,000 acres of so-called submarginal land. They went in with W. P. A. funds and built a dam at a cost of over \$1,000,000. The idea was, of course, to develop an artificial lake down there, to be encircled with the fragrance of crab-apple blossoms and provide recreational facilities for the folks in that area. People in that district, several hundred miles from where I live, have been sending me letters of protest saying that they are creating a national home for fish, frogs, snakes, and turtles and making the whole surrounding landscape so unhealthy that folks do not want to live there any longer. Lots of that land was bought at probably less than it cost the people from whom they bought it. There were a score or more of cemeteries in the area. They are going to have to take the bones from those cemeteries and cart them somewhere else and reinter them in a plot bought by the Federal Government. That project started by a simple Executive order, by the scratch of a pen in the White House; and the people out there are not satisfied with it, judging from the complaints and criticism that has been coming. This is a project that was started because there was no restriction. If lump-sum allocations to other Federal agencies had not been the vogue in earlier years, Congress would have had an opportunity to examine the feasibility and desirability of that project before the funds were expended and the work undertaken. It serves to prove the desirability of restricting such expenditures.

If the pending bill passes as reported by the committee, W. P. A. cannot hand \$9,000,000, or \$4,000,000, or \$2,000,000 to the Soil Conservation Service and say, "Go out and start any project for which you can get the approval of the President."

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield.

Mr. DONDERO. It may be somewhat of a shock to the Members of the House to learn that since noon today I have received notice from the Works Progress Administration of the approval of the following project: To organize and operate toy and doll-lending centers, \$303,302, approved June 13, 1939, by Executive order.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. No; my time is getting too short.

Now let us look at the efficiency angle for a moment. Our friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CASEY], rises on this floor to state that the amount carried in this bill is not sufficient. If the amount carried by this bill is efficiently expended it will go just as far as a substantially larger amount handled as these funds have been handled in the past, and do just as much good. That puts the burden of proof upon W. P. A. for proper administration to see that the taxpayers of this country get a dollar's worth of value for every dollar expended.

A friend of Prime Minister Gladstone once asked him why he did not let England live like a gentleman. His reply was that to do so would cost twice as much as it should. That is the inherent weakness in a governmental spending program. It costs more than it should for what the taxpayer gets. If the funds provided in this bill are efficiently expended it will come pretty close to doing the work that our friend from Massachusetts has in mind.

Let us look at the money's worth, particularly in the light of that provision in the bill that puts a limit of \$25,000 upon buildings. If they are over \$25,000 they have to have it done in some other fashion than by the W. P. A. How much efficiency has there been? Here comes Mr. Allen W. Stephens, Peter L. Hine, and Chester L. Post, who are consulting engineers in the Procurement Division of the Public Buildings Branch of the Treasury. Mr. Post has been engineer since 1899. He has a splendid record. You can examine all the questions and answers and you will find that

they are not based upon lack of sympathy for relief and work-relief objectives.

Let us see what they testified.

World's Fair Building: Cost estimated at \$544,000 by W. P. A., or 43½ cents per cubic foot.

The Federal Building, which was built by the Procurement Division, cost only 20 cents per cubic foot.

Queens School in New York: W. P. A. estimate, \$782,000.

Estimated by competent engineers that it could be built for \$441,000, or a saving of \$341,000 on a single school building.

Laundry and fire station at Great Lakes, Ill.: W. P. A. estimate, \$375,000. Competent engineers from Procurement Division say it could have been built for \$218,000, or a saving of \$157,000.

Granite Park Recreation Center in Des Plaines, Ill., a town of 8,800 people. They built a recreation center which cost \$353,000. The Procurement Division said it could be done for \$202,000.

Armory at Champaign, Ill., and Sycamore, Ill.: W. P. A. estimate, \$202,000. Procurement Division engineers said it could be built for \$130,000.

Municipal Building, Allegheny, Pa.: W. P. A. cost, \$88,200. Procurement Division estimate by private contract, \$50,000.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa., where they built a highway 22 miles long: W. P. A. estimate, \$1,960,000, or at the rate of \$89,000 per mile. Could have been done by private contract, according to procurement engineers, for \$365,000, or at the rate of \$17,000 per mile. W. P. A. spent \$89,000 a mile. Procurement said it could be done for \$17,000.

You see, if we can get a little more efficiency in connection with the expenditure of the money provided in this bill, it will take care of all the needs and all the demands of those who would substantially raise the amount. I am in favor of that restriction upon buildings by W. P. A. in excess of \$25,000. If it is going to cause some difficulty perhaps it can be raised a little bit, but not above the \$50,000 bracket, for on the basis of 25-percent efficiency, 40-percent efficiency, and 55-percent efficiency the taxpayers of this country are not getting value received for the money that has been expended. I am very happy that the committee has closed that particular loophole.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I know the gentleman wants to be fair.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I do not believe the gentleman should leave that subject without stating to the membership that there are various factors in W. P. A. construction which, in order to give work to as many people as possible, make the W. P. A. construction costlier than if done by private enterprise.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Let me call attention to the Queens School project in New York. Seven hundred and eighty-two thousand dollars is the W. P. A. amount. Four hundred and fourteen thousand dollars was the cost of a school that was built at the same time from virtually the identical plan. Is that the answer or is it not? When a man has been in the engineering profession for 40 years, or since 1899, having graduated from the University of Maine, started in New York City as an engineer, and now engaged by the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department as a consulting engineer, I am pretty nearly willing to stand by the figures and estimates that a gentleman like that gives to the committee.

Mr. GARRETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. GARRETT. Referring to the \$25,000 limitation on building projects, does not the gentleman feel some provision should be made for rural sections where they have in good faith voted bonds and the applications are now pending, which rural sections would be unable to qualify under the W. P. A. otherwise?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Does the gentleman mean work in progress?

Mr. GARRETT. Where the bonds have actually been voted, but the project has not been approved. The bonds have been voted in good faith and on many occasions have been solicited by the W. P. A.

Mr. DIRKSEN. A good deal can be said in favor of that, but in view of this efficiency record of the W. P. A. with respect to buildings, it occurs to me that a restriction must be put in the bill. Not for one moment do I mean to imply that inefficiency is characteristic of all W. P. A. building projects. There are doubtless thousands of projects upon which they have done a creditable job. But we cannot blink the facts with respect to many pieces of construction, and certainly a reasonable limit of cost should be set.

I listened with interest to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PARSONS], who complained about sections 29, 30, 31, and 32 of the bill dealing with political activities. As the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] pointed out, that is existing law today.

I got the impression from the gentleman from Illinois, in view of the fact he is going to offer amendments to strike every one of those sections, that he is in favor of permitting solicitations; that he would be in favor of permitting promises of jobs and employment; that he would be in favor of influences in primary and general elections; that he would be in favor of candidates running where they got the benefit of W. P. A. help. I hope he did not intend to leave that impression. However, he is going to offer an amendment to strike out the sections that would make solicitation unlawful, make job promises unlawful, make influences unlawful, and would make candidacies where W. P. A. funds or where W. P. A. positions are used, unlawful, and such action would reasonably warrant the assumption that he favors such activities.

I hope that this is not the attitude of my colleague from Illinois.

In that connection I want to emphasize and reemphasize what the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. ROSSON] put in the Record this afternoon. I refer to letter dated Louisville, Ky., May 23, 1939, marked "Personal" and signed by Mr. Goodman, W. P. A. administrator of the State, in which he calls for campaign contributions of 2 percent for one who was running for high office in the State of Kentucky at that time.

That is a rather tragic commentary and indicates that if the Congress does not write restrictions into the bill, we will have these same abuses to contend with and probably in greater measure as relief becomes some kind of a career for some of these folks.

Mr. HOUSTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. HOUSTON. For the benefit of the House, may I say I am going to offer an amendment making it unlawful for anyone in authority to accept a recommendation for anybody on W. P. A. other than character or place of residence by a Senator or Congressman?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I want to add the first paragraph of the letter by Mr. Goodman, works-progress administrator in Louisville, Ky., written to works-progress administrator at Lexington, Ky., as follows:

I know you have no correspondence in your files that would violate the Works Progress Administration regulations and instructions in connection with political matters. However, I suggest that anything you might have that would even appear to an uninformed person to involve us in politics be destroyed.

That is grand, and that has been going on, you know, in other States. You can readily realize, then, our responsibility if we are going to stop that sort of thing and stop the use of money paid by the taxpayers of the United States America in order to influence elections.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. It is also interesting to know that in Louisville, Ky., into which the W. P. A. has been

plowing a good deal of money, the pay roll of the industries of that city in 1931 was \$26,000,000, and in 1937, according to the mayor's own statement, it had increased to \$36,000,000. Now, why the necessity for this constantly increasing expenditure in a city in which the pay roll has increased in 7 years' time?

Mr. DIRKSEN. A very interesting question, I may say to my friend from Massachusetts.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOOK. The gentleman is speaking about restrictions on politics. I wonder if the gentleman can inform me whether or not this restriction would straighten out a situation like this, where five Republican leaders in one of my counties used W. P. A. materials and W. P. A. gasoline for their own personal use on their own property?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I must say they must have some awfully astute Republicans in the gentleman's district. They do not do that in my State. It is comforting to know there are astute Republicans like that left in the country.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MICHENER. I might suggest, if we are going to make the investigation suggested by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hook], that the affidavits which I understand are in the hands of one of the Members of Congress coming from his district as to activities in his behalf—

Mr. HOOK. I am challenging you and those affiants on that subject. I say that those who connived those affidavits are liars. There was an investigation with regard to those affidavits, and they do not dare bring the results of the investigation to this floor. They were proven to be false.

Mr. MICHENER. My suggestion was, in view of what the gentleman said—

Mr. HOOK. They were made by the very men I just referred to here, and the investigation showed that the men who signed those affidavits were thieves under the W. P. A. They were Republican county road commissioners.

Mr. MICHENER. I said that the gentleman might bring the affidavits and have them included. Of course, the home of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hook] is as far from my district as my district is from the city of Washington, and I am not familiar with the facts.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, before my time is up, let me offer this concluding observation with respect to the bill. This is the best relief and work relief bill I have seen come into the Congress since 1933. I believe these restrictions are necessary if we are to get efficient expenditure of the money. I believe those political provisions are necessary if we are to have some semblance of taking politics out of relief and relief out of politics. Other restrictions are necessary in order to restore to the Congress the control and the direction over appropriations and expenditures. This deals something of a body blow to the whole principle of blank checks that has grown up since 1933. It means that once more the direction of expenditures and the expenditure of the revenues of the country will be controlled and supervised where it should be controlled, by the legislative branch of the Government.

Mr. LEAVY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. LEAVY. I do not necessarily want to challenge the gentleman's statement that this is the best W. P. A. bill that has come in since 1933, but I wish to ask the gentleman this question: Is the bill not as a matter of figures \$898,000,000 less for the fiscal year 1940 than it is for the fiscal year 1939?

Mr. DIRKSEN. There have been some unexpended balances, I may say to the gentleman, for one thing, and then there has been a transfer to P. W. A. under certain limitations, for another.

Mr. LEAVY. Of \$125,000,000.

Mr. DIRKSEN. But the point is that the aggregate amount comes within, or at least matches, the Budget figure that came up to us. Certainly, I want to say to Brother

LEAVY, sitting over on this side, if I were a Member over on this side, I believe I would stand for diminished appropriations more efficiently expended in order to find a little comfort and consolation, hoping and believing, perhaps, that the country was improving a bit. But when you constantly come at us for increased expenditures, it is almost a public confession that all the money that has been expended has not met the problem.

The temper of the debate on this bill indicates one happy fact. Republicans and Democrats alike recognize a duty to people who are in distress and need relief. I believe we can stand on common ground and admit that W. P. A. has accomplished much good. I believe we can agree that there have been many abuses. I believe we can admit that in some sections of the country there has been grave inefficiency in the expenditure of funds on construction projects. I believe that every Member of Congress is sincerely anxious, according to his lights, to make adequate provision for relief and to so restrict the expenditure of funds as to remove abuses, eliminate inefficiency, and return to the taxpayer a reasonable measure of value for the funds which he is called upon to contribute in the form of taxes either now or later. No Member will deny after the testimony which has been offered that in some States W. P. A. was converted into a political vehicle for the benefit of some candidates for office. With this objective and this problem before us, let us address ourselves to it with vigor, with spirit, and with sincerity in order to serve the general welfare of the country and in the hope of revitalizing a spirit of confidence that will lead to more prosperous days.

Mr. Chairman, if time permitted I would say a word about my friend from Virginia [Mr. Woodrum]. I believe he has rendered a distinct and a constructive service to the people of the United States of America, and they are indebted to him. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I yield the remainder of my time to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. O'NEAL].

Mr. O'NEAL. Mr. Chairman, I should like to bear testimony at this time in closing the debate for the committee to the very interesting and valuable experience we have had in working on this bill. I do not believe a more conscientious study of a problem within the same length of time has been made in Congress. I wish to say that for the most part the relationship of the members and their attitude toward the investigation has been of the finest. Although we were in session morning and afternoon, there was always, with few exceptions, a spirit on the part of nearly every member of the committee of mutual consideration and mutual help. I regret very much that the only discordant note that has been brought into this committee report—and, I may say, into the questions—has been brought in by my friend the very able and sarcastic gentleman from Missouri. He was very genial in advising the committee as to political loyalty and party responsibility. Being a new member, somewhat, on that committee, and not having had many, many years of experience, I listened to his plea for party loyalty. But then I happened to recall a little article I read in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and it did not seem to be exactly in accord with what the gentleman said today. I want to know now from the gentleman from Missouri if this is the type of party loyalty to which he referred.

On March 31, 1939, in the Appendix there appears this statement made by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON] from the old-fashioned, southern Democratic State of Missouri, that believes in States' rights and matters of that sort:

Now, I take it for granted from all indications at this time that you expect to come to Missouri in 1940 to select the next President of the United States—

This was addressed to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CULLEN]—

But if in some unfortunate and misguided moment you should be diverted elsewhere, of all those who have been mentioned as

eligible for that high position there is no one whose record for efficiency and integrity in public office entitles him to more serious consideration than Mayor LaGuardia, of New York.

When I first went on this committee this year, frankly, the gentleman from Missouri was an acquaintance of mine, just as the gentleman from Virginia was. Neither of them was a particular friend, just one of the Members for whom I had a high regard, and I hope they had the same friendly feeling toward me, but I cannot let go unchallenged this attack made on this floor as to the partiality of the gentleman from Virginia in this matter.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'NEAL. I will be glad to yield; yes.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I accused no one of being unfair and I invited the Members to look at the RECORD and decide for themselves.

Mr. O'NEAL. The gentleman spoke in the very extremely adroit manner in which he always does, so that whatever was left in the nature of an opinion would be that the gentleman from Virginia was a cold-hearted sort of person, who had no interest in the downtrodden and the people on relief, and whatever the words of the gentleman from Missouri may be, the impression was that the gentleman from Virginia was certainly not very sympathetic or even fair in this investigation.

I now want to say that although I went on this committee on terms of perfect friendship and friendliness with both of these gentlemen, the only one who has been out of step with the committee on all occasions has been the gentleman from Missouri [applause], and I do not resent the way the gentleman from Missouri referred to me as one of those who just did not understand, for he so stamped every other member of the committee. I did not resent that. All during the hearings the gentleman from Missouri did not hesitate to picture himself as the champion of all the downtrodden and the rest of the committee as the persecutors and the prosecutors of them, but I do not want this record to go unchallenged because the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM], in every instance that I observed, as chairman of this committee tried to be perfectly fair with the Federal Government, with the W. P. A., and with the witness, no matter whence he came.

The gentleman from Virginia conducted the examination in a spirit of fair play. Naturally, when you are investigating a leaky house you do not look at the foundations and fill the record with that, but you try to fix the leak, and, naturally, the investigation developed along lines that were seeking to find what was wrong, and, of course, the witnesses were asked more questions along that line than they were as to what was right.

The gentleman went so far as to say you would not find a thing in the RECORD by way of praise of the W. P. A. If you will look at the speech of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM], you will see that he was certainly very extravagant in the things that he said about the workers and about the W. P. A.

Mr. Chairman, the job was put on this committee to find out if there was anything wrong with W. P. A., as the public seemed to believe, and we investigated every phase of the situation that might in any way cause the wasting of a dollar that might go to relief, and I say that the record is so full of mismanagement, of cheating, of taking advantage of the Federal Government, especially by sponsors, that any red-blooded American will have a shiver of shame if he reads this record and what was brought out in the testimony. I am not only referring to New York or Chicago, but wherever our investigators went. In a fine, old, solid community of the type that I come from, let me give you an example of the type of unfair play that went on. There was an orphans' asylum—and this story was mentioned by another speaker, but some of you may not have heard it—that wanted a building, and W. P. A. could not build it because it was not a public institution. It was owned and operated by a nonpublic group. They went to the city officials and it was agreed that

a W. P. A. project would be started to build the building, but since it could not be done on this private property by their sponsorship, the city had to sponsor it, and the city did sponsor it. This orphans' asylum deeded the property to the city, and the result was that the building was built, and as soon as it was built the city deeded it back to the corporation that owned the orphans' asylum. More than that, they did not record the deed, because in the deed they had the effrontery to state that upon completion of the building, as a consideration, the city which I am mentioning would deed it back, and the face of the deed shows the crime or the criminal intent.

That is just one of hundreds of things. I say that this whole proposition needed a thorough investigation, and we have done the best we could, and I say that there is nothing in the bill that is not the result of a sincere and conscientious study made on the part of your committee.

There are other things we would have liked to put in here, but we could not put them in because we did not have the time to make the exhaustive study that we should have made. We would like to have had something on the question of who is going to pay for all of this relief, but we did not have the time for sufficient study. Do you know that there are 13 States in this Union that do not pay a dime for direct relief? You will find the burden apportioned between the municipalities and the counties and the States in a most unscientific way, and many of them are avoiding their responsibility entirely. There is no criticism against the Federal Government necessarily on that proposition, but it is our job properly to work this out so that everyone who can will help to share this burden.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Because of what I said and because of the statements that I have made on the floor of this House last week with regard to some of these tax-dodging States, why should they not pay their just share of the cost of relief?

Mr. O'NEAL. They should; and if this committee's work is continued, in my opinion, we will have a well-thought-out plan through which they will do that.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. And we ought to make them pay 55 percent instead of 45 percent.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I know the gentleman has been eminently fair and always is, and inasmuch as no member of the committee has up to this moment said a fair word about New York City, I wish the gentleman, who has sat on that committee diligently, would comment on the share of the relief burden that New York City is carrying.

Mr. O'NEAL. Of course, the gentleman from New York himself mentioned that in his speech. I think they are contributing 53 percent, he said.

Mr. SIROVICH. New York needs no defense.

Mr. O'NEAL. It is a great city and we are all proud of it, but there are very bad things going on in New York, as well as in other cities in respect to W. P. A. work.

There are many more things I would like to mention and in the few moments remaining I wish to assure the gentleman that this bill is most fair. You will be called upon with sympathetic appeals of one kind and another to amend the bill, but I assure you there is not a thing that will be presented on this floor tomorrow by way of amendment that has not had most thorough consideration, and this committee, after several months of study, would like for the Members to take the trouble, if they have not already done so, to read the report. Much of this has been covered, but there are things in here which none of us have had time to mention. For instance, there is a little provision here that does not seem to be important, giving the authorities the right to get rid of a man on relief whose work habits are such that he will not work. We have some,

I will not say so many, who will not work, but they are in need. They will get drunk on the job and nobody can fire them. You cannot do a thing about it. This provision gives the W. P. A. authorities power to look into the work habits of those on the job.

There is another paragraph, No. 16, innocuous in its appearance, apparently without much force, which may have far-reaching effect along the lines I have been discussing. It is a provision authorizing the Works Projects Board to call the attention of State and local governments to the unemployment situation existing therein and to seek their cooperation in meeting it. We find States, or at least I should say one State, to be exact, which was going through a boom. A picture was drawn of a deserted State and city prior to the coming of W. P. A., and when the W. P. A. testimony was given this year we had a statement from the Governor of that State that there were no bad times, they were prosperous. I said to him, "Has it been W. P. A. money that has done that?" He said, "Yes; that is what I give credit to, or to that effect." Then I said, "Do you know that you have on your rolls probably almost as many who cannot get employment as you have who are given employment, and that your State is doing nothing? Do you know that the Government is giving \$30 a month on W. P. A. and on direct relief you are paying them from \$4 to \$12 a month?" W. P. A., in other words, had brought up that city and State with public improvements and spending so that it made it appear to be enjoying almost a boom.

Yet they had thousands who could not get on direct relief and those who were on were receiving about half what the W. P. A. worker was getting. In addition to that, that State had a sales tax, and much of the material bought by W. P. A. was directly contributing certain sales taxes to the State where the purchases were made.

I see my time has almost expired. I would like to say to this committee, as I said in the beginning, that this bill is the result of as thorough and conscientious approach to the subject as has been made in Congress since I have been here. There are things in here that some will question, but if they show the same amount of study that we have given to this, I do not believe they would be advocating some of the things they are going to suggest. There is a difference of opinion, possibly, as to the spending program, but I would like to say that unless this Government, unless this Congress, realizes how things are in this country and very soon decides to govern itself, and vote for less, I believe we are heading rapidly into something far worse than any of us realize.

I make a plea, in conclusion, for economy. W. P. A., as necessary as it was, started a flood of Federal gratuities flowing. It started a different type of thinking. This money going out for necessary things like relief, started other people thinking in terms of what good things they would like to ask for. This Congress is flooded with requests from bureaus, States, and localities for more and more money. It is my belief that unless we try, on every appropriation that comes before the Congress, to trim something, we can never have any practical economy or a balanced budget or the America as we have known it in the past.

I urge you to support the committee in the bill which they bring here, because it has been studied thoroughly, and I believe that in the hearts of every one of the Members there is a sincere desire to do the best not only for the W. P. A. worker but for the entire country. [Applause.]

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'NEAL. I yield.

Mr. HOUSTON. Is it not a fact that this bill provides everything the President asked for regarding W. P. A., with the exception of \$125,000,000 that went into P. W. A.?

Mr. O'NEAL. That is exactly the sum the President asked for. It transfers \$125,000,000 to the P. W. A., but the sum in the bill is exactly what the President asked for.

There are economies of operation in this bill that will help provide for the W. P. A. some of the \$125,000,000 which was transferred to the P. W. A. [Applause.]

In closing this debate I may have wandered a little afield from a strict analysis of the bill. You have heard a great deal about its provisions, and the excellent report is a good anatomical study of its contents.

As the scroll of history unfolds, I am wondering if the bill before us may not bring forth the first positive appearance of a growing public realization of things as they are. If this bill passes substantially in its present form, to me it will be an indication that the people of this country are beginning to take a stand to avert an impending yet avoidable catastrophe. I do not refer only to our financial dangers, but also to the changed or changing point of view as to the Federal Government. There was a time, when America was attaining its greatness, that the first consideration was liberty and freedom, and government was set up to have only few and delegated powers. And so State sovereignty was a vital issue.

That understanding of tyranny and desire for freedom led men to a high disdain of favors, for to be under obligation to anyone was to be in debt to someone, and there was a surrender of freedom. It follows directly that the more you are dependent, the less freedom you have, and if it is true that over one-half of our people are drawing Federal bounties of one kind or another, is it not clear that the most cherished possession of our people, as we have been taught to believe, namely, liberty, is being impaired by our acceptance of Federal bounties and control? This did not come about by will or design, and I appreciate the necessities of the dark days following 1929. That was disaster, and it was met in a miraculous way by the President, Congress, and the people, and, of course, those who cannot help themselves must be aided. But what followed? The Federal aid to the unemployed was expanded and human nature got into the game. Others began to want some of the easy money, and cities, counties, States, Federal agencies dealing with every phase of our life rushed to the fountain of gushing Federal gratuities to quench an insatiable thirst for more. The Government departments each thought of some good thing that could be accomplished, and we helped them with it; whenever anyone could think of some good purpose that might be accomplished, we voted for it, and there is no end to the good things that Federal money will buy—as long as it lasts. But all the time we were doing it we were not only placing ourselves and our country in character-destroying debt but we were sacrificing in many ways the old American tradition of independence.

This bill undoubtedly reflects a growing sentiment that even Federal funds must be handled carefully and prudently, and we are making a real start in that direction. It is to be hoped that when it reaches another body it will not change its character and come back loaded down with costly amendments. Your committee was very careful in the preparation of the bill, and many things we would like to have included we did not, for we felt that we had not investigated the matters thoroughly enough. Each of the 19 changes is the result of sincere study and almost the unanimous action of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kentucky has expired. All time has expired.

The Clerk will read.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SABATH. As I understand it, there has been an agreement entered into that after reading the first section the Committee will rise?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has no understanding of any such agreement.

The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, etc., That this joint resolution may be cited as the "Work Relief and Public Works Appropriation Act of 1939."

TITLE I—WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF

WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION

SECTION 1. (a) In order to continue to provide work for needy persons on useful public projects in the United States and its Territories and possessions, there is hereby appropriated to the Work Projects Administration, out of any money in the Treasury

not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, \$1,477,000,000 (of which \$125,000,000 is hereby transferred to the Public Works Administration and made available for the purposes of title II and shall not be subject to any other provisions of this section or this title), together with all balances of appropriations under subsection (1) of section 1 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, as supplemented by Public Resolution No. 1 and Public Resolution No. 10 of the Seventy-sixth Congress, which remain unobligated on June 30, 1939, including such unobligated balances of funds transferred to other agencies for non-construction projects under the provisions of section 3 of such act of 1938, as supplemented, or set aside for specific purposes in accordance with other law: *Provided*, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, funds heretofore irrevocably set aside for the completion of Federal construction projects under authority of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938, as amended, shall remain available until June 30, 1940, for such completion, and any such funds which remain unobligated by reason of the completion or abandonment of any such Federal construction project shall be returned to this appropriation.

(b) The funds provided in this section shall be available for (1) administration; (2) the prosecution of projects approved by the President under the provisions of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Acts of 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938; and (3) the prosecution of the following types of non-Federal public projects, subject to the approval of the President, namely: Highways, roads, and streets; public buildings; parks, and other recreational facilities, including buildings therein; public utilities; electric transmission and distribution lines or systems to serve persons in rural areas, including projects sponsored by and for the benefit of nonprofit and cooperative associations; sewer systems, water supply, and purification systems; airports and other transportation facilities; flood control; drainage; irrigation; conservation, including projects sponsored by conservation districts and other bodies duly organized under State law for soil erosion control and conservation, preference being given to projects which will contribute to the rehabilitation of individuals and an increase in the national income; eradication of insect pests; the production of lime and marl in Wisconsin for fertilizing soil for distribution to farmers under such conditions as may be determined by the sponsors of such projects under provisions of State law; educational, professional, clerical, cultural, and recreational work; production of goods for distribution to the needy; service to the needy, including training for domestic service; aid to self-help and cooperative associations for the benefit of needy persons; and miscellaneous projects.

(c) On and after October 1, 1939, employment on work projects authorized under this section in the several States and the District of Columbia (hereafter referred to in this subsection as States), shall be apportioned on the following basis: (1) Forty-five percent of the total number employed, in the ratio which the population of each State bears to the total population of all States as shown by the latest available Federal census; (2) 45 percent of the total number employed, in the ratio which the number of unemployed persons in each State bears to the total number of unemployed in all States; and (3) 10 percent of the total number employed at the discretion of the Works Projects Board, established by subsection (g) (hereinafter referred to as the "Board"), to meet unusual local conditions.

(d) The funds appropriated in this section, exclusive of those used for administrative expenses, shall be so administered that expenditure authorizations for other than labor costs for all the work projects financed from such funds in any State, Territory, possession, or the District of Columbia shall not exceed an average for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, of \$6 per month per worker.

(e) The amount which may be obligated for administrative expenses of the Work Projects Administration in the District of Columbia and in the field shall not exceed in the aggregate the sum of \$45,000,000 during the fiscal year 1940, of which sum the amounts so to be obligated for the following respective purposes shall not exceed these sums: Salaries, \$40,000,000; communication service, \$600,000; travel, \$4,200,000; and printing and binding, \$500,000.

(f) The Work Projects Administration is hereby extended until June 30, 1940, to carry out the purposes of this title.

(g) There is hereby established, for the period ending June 30, 1940, a Work Projects Board to be composed of three members to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. During his term of membership on the Board no member shall engage in any other business, vocation, or employment, except as permitted by subsection (h) of this section. Not more than two of the members of the Board shall be members of the same political party. Each member shall receive a salary at the rate of \$10,000 a year. The President shall designate one of the members as the chairman of the Board. The offices of Commissioner of Work Projects and of Assistant or Deputy Commissioners of Work Projects are abolished as of the close of business on July 31, 1939, and the Board shall enter upon the performance of its duties on August 1, 1939. Except as used in the foregoing provisions of this subsection, with respect to the period after June 30, 1939, and before August 1, 1939, the term "Board" means "Commissioner of Work Projects," and, with respect to any period before July 1, 1939, the term "Board" means "Works Progress Administrator" and the term "Work Projects Administration" means "Works Progress Administration." The Board shall, for all purposes, be deemed to be the successor to the offices of Commissioner of Work Projects and Works Progress Administrator.

(h) The President may detail a commissioned officer of the Engineer Corps on the active list of the United States Army to perform the functions of the office of Commissioner of Work Projects during the month of July 1939 or to perform the functions of a member of the Works Projects Board established by subsection (g) of this section in lieu of the appointment of one member of such Board. Any commissioned officer so detailed shall receive his pay, allowances, and travel expenses as such and shall not be entitled to receive any compensation or travel expense from the appropriation in this section.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia and Mr. HOOK rose.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from Michigan rise?

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. In charge of the bill, I think I am entitled to recognition when I address the Chair.

I move that the Committee do now rise.

The CHAIRMAN. The motion of the gentleman from Virginia is a privileged motion.

The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Virginia.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. McCORMACK, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration House Joint Resolution 326, directed him to report that it had come to no resolution thereon.

INTERSTATE COMPACT TO CONSERVE OIL AND GAS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith a report of the Secretary of State enclosing a certified copy of An Agreement to Extend the Interstate Compact to Conserve Oil and Gas, executed as of April 5, 1939, by the Governors of the States of Oklahoma, New Mexico, Kansas, Colorado, Texas, and Michigan, which has been deposited in the archives of the Department of State in accordance with the provision contained therein. The agreement refers to the interstate compact to conserve oil and gas executed at Dallas, Tex., on February 16, 1935, which received the consent of the Congress in Public Resolution No. 64, Seventy-fourth Congress, approved August 27, 1935 (49 Stat. 939). As that compact would have expired on September 1, 1937, an agreement extending its provisions for 2 years was executed as of May 10, 1937, by the Governors of the States of Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, New Mexico, and Colorado, and received the consent of Congress in Public Resolution No. 57, Seventy-fifth Congress, approved August 10, 1937 (50 Stat. 617). As the above-mentioned compact, in accordance with the extension agreement of May 10, 1937, will expire on September 1, 1939, the present agreement provides that the original compact shall continue in force for 2 years from that date. In a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior dated June 8, 1939, enclosed with the report of the Secretary of State, the opinion is expressed that suitable legislation should be enacted by the Congress giving its consent to the extension to September 1, 1941, of the interstate compact to conserve oil and gas.

Accordingly, I hope that Congress will enact legislation giving its consent to the agreement executed as of April 5, 1939, as required by article I, section 10, of the Constitution of the United States.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

The White House, June 15, 1939.

SHIPOWNERS' LIABILITY CONVENTION—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following further message from the President of the United States, which was

read and referred to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries:

To the Congress of the United States of America:

To fulfill the obligations of this Government under the Shipowners' Liability (Sick and Injured Seamen) Convention, 1936, I commend to the favorable consideration of the Congress the enclosed report from the Secretary of State and the accompanying draft bill to implement the convention. After careful consideration of the questions involved, this proposed bill was prepared by an interdepartmental committee. Legislation should be enacted at this session of Congress, as the convention will become effective for the United States on October 29, 1939.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, June 15, 1939.

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY ACT OF 1933

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 1796) to amend the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933, insist upon the amendment of the House, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Mr. MAY, Mr. THOMASON, Mr. HARTER of Ohio, Mr. ANDREWS, and Mr. SHORT.

AMENDMENT TO AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT OF 1938

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (S. 1569) to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the report be waived. I will say that the Senate has receded and agreed to the House amendment exactly as it passed the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1569) to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House, and agree to the same.

MARVIN JONES,
WALL DOXEY,
CLIFFORD R. HOPE,
Managers on the part of the House.
J. H. BANKHEAD,
CARL A. HATCH,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill (S. 1569) to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The first section of the House amendment makes permanent the provisions of section 344 (e) (1) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, which relates to the minimum allotments of cotton acreage to the various counties.

The second section of the House amendment makes permanent the provisions of section 344 (g) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, which relates to the allotment of 4 percent of the State acreage allotment to counties and farms.

The third section of the House amendment makes permanent the provisions of section 344 (h) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, which requires that the farm acreage allotment for any farm be not less than 50 percent of the acreage planted to cotton plus 50 percent of the acreage diverted from cotton production in 1937.

The effect of the action agreed to in conference is to adopt the provisions of the House amendment.

MARVIN JONES,
WALL DOXEY,
CLIFFORD R. HOPE,
Managers on the part of the House.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address by Postmaster General James A. Farley at the dedication of the new post-office and Federal building at Amarillo, Tex., on May 17, 1939.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is this the speech Mr. Farley made about old-age pensions?

Mr. JONES of Texas. No; it is a dedication of the new post-office and Federal building.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I did not know but that he might have put both in one speech.

Mr. JONES of Texas. I hope the gentleman will not get his politics and potatoes mixed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

RELIEF AND WORK RELIEF

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD at this point on the subject of the relief bill that was under consideration today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, it has seemed to me that there has been a lack of policy in approaching the problems of the depression. I believe that in all legislative proposals thought should have been given to avoid adopting measures likely to destroy habits of thrift and self-reliance. These fundamental American virtues have been greatly weakened by measures that put a premium on loafing, idling, and dependence upon Government support. I believe it is a grave mistake for the Government to stifle individual initiative and independence.

When the standard of living depends upon the production of goods and services, I believe it an unwise policy to reduce the total number of hours put in on productive work and thus lessen the total physical output of goods and the national income. This is a short cut to create and distribute poverty and not to produce and distribute wealth. I do not believe it is sound policy to lessen either average annual real wages or average annual real profits.

Surely no sensible person will contend that depression is to be cured by exporting our pay rolls, by importing products that our industries, labor, and agriculture can and should produce and sell in the home market.

I know that to raise taxes materially, as has been done for the past 6 years, without reducing the public debt by an equivalent amount, means disaster and not recovery.

The program of relief, as administered by the New Deal, has ignored these fundamental points, with the resulting consequences of larger relief appropriations, greater unemployment, a lower standard of living, and a mounting and staggering public debt.

This relief bill now before us for consideration is an improvement over previous legislation of this character, but it does not place the administration of relief where it belongs, which should be with the States and local units of government.

Mr. KRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute on the subject of the relief bill, to revise and extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD, and to include therein a table.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. KRAMER. Mr. Speaker, included in the relief bill is an item of \$125,000,000 for the Public Works Administration.

The bill provides that the funds shall be used for non-Federal projects only and that grants shall be limited to \$225,000—or 45 percent of the cost of a project—with the total cost not exceeding \$500,000. The bill provides under the public works section that new applications must be filed by September 30, 1939, and projects must be commenced prior to March 1, 1940, and completed prior to July 1, 1941.

I want to call to the attention of the House that \$125,000,000 is not sufficient for public works. There are over 5,000 approved applications pending in the Public Works Administration now which might be eligible for allotment if additional appropriations are provided by the Congress. However, if sufficient funds for loans and grants are not made available these projects can never be started. With total estimated project costs of these pending 5,000 projects running over \$2,000,000,000 it is very plain that the \$125,000,000 will not prove nearly sufficient to carry on the program, even though the Government is asked to contribute only 45 percent of the estimated cost.

Which of the applicants listed could receive an allotment if a further appropriation of only one hundred and twenty-five millions is made for public works would depend upon the terms of the legislation you are now asked to consider. For this reason I ask you to carefully consider the committee recommendations as pertaining to public works. Applications which at the present time stand approved might, upon the terms of the legislation herein being considered, be made ineligible because of lack of funds and other restrictions.

A recent newspaper release stated that sentiment in Congress is very strong for another public-works program and that the Appropriations Committee sensed this fact and endeavored to head off a drive for a real appropriation by setting aside this insignificant sum for pending projects. I do not for a moment believe this to be true, but I do ask that the amount recommended for P. W. A. by the committee be increased.

The backlog of available projects on which a further public-works program can be based represents worth-while construction operations which are badly needed in the communities by which they are sponsored. They represent waterworks, disposal plants, sanitary sewers, power improvements, highway bridges, electricity-distribution plants, storm sewers, schools, municipal buildings, and so forth. Are we going to let the Appropriations Committee have the last say as to whether these projects can be built? Or shall we taken into consideration the views of these thousands of municipalities in every State and Territory?

The financial soundness of P. W. A. is unquestioned. This agency has purchased bonds from States, cities, and other public bodies in the past and sold them at a profit. It has had no difficulty whatever in securing and returning to the United States Treasury interest and principal payments as they become due. The care with which the loans and grants are made and supervised is best illustrated by the splendid record of P. W. A. and the absence of criticism of its policies.

I am convinced that the communities in your respective congressional districts are in favor of increasing this appropriation. They have indicated their approval of the public-works program time and again through bond elections and referendums. I ask you to vote in accord with their wishes and support amendments to be offered to this bill to make available additional funds for P. W. A. projects. Otherwise there will be thousands of communities disappointed and thousands of worth-while public-works projects abandoned.

The amendments to be offered to this bill by Representative STARNES of Alabama will increase the P. W. A. fund and eliminate the restrictions as to the cost of projects. Under the bill in its original form the total cost of a project may not exceed \$500,000, which would prevent the construction of many worthy undertakings, such as the city police and health buildings in Los Angeles and other civic-center improvements; the sanitary sewer at Tampa; the viaduct at Chicago; the terminal at New Orleans; the flood-control project at Detroit; the electric plant at Meridian, Miss.; street improvements at Kansas City; highways in Helena, Mont.; the highway bridge at Omaha; elementary and high schools in New York City;

the municipal building at Buffalo; the city hall at Rochester; the highway bridge at Atlantic City; the armory at Cleveland; the library at Cincinnati; waterworks improvements at Oklahoma City; courthouses at Salem, Oreg., Harrisburg, Pa., and Dallas, Tex.; highways in Pittsburgh; disposal plant in Philadelphia and one in Providence, R. I.; an auditorium at Nashville; electric plant at Ogden, Utah; a bridge at Richmond; a dock terminal at Seattle; a hospital at Huntington, W. Va.; and power development of the Wisconsin Rapids. This is just a few of the projects which will be disqualified if the Starnes amendment is not carried. There are many more in the same category—several thousand, I believe—which will lose out by the terms of this bill as it is written.

I hope the House will support the Starnes proposals and thus insure continuation of the public-works program. I feel that I owe it to the communities sponsoring these projects to support these amendments. We cannot afford to let them down now.

Summary of list of applications for projects pending before the Public Works Administration for which the amount of grant requested exceeds \$225,000

United States	C. C.	Loan	Grant	Total	Estimated cost
Alabama.....	1		\$893,520	\$893,520	\$1,985,600
Arizona.....	5	\$2,816,000	4,626,267	7,442,267	10,281,039
California.....	43	8,057,000	64,253,889	72,310,889	180,685,529
Colorado.....	2	5,500,000	5,304,273	10,804,273	11,787,273
Connecticut.....	8		7,284,243	7,284,243	16,187,209
Florida.....	17	11,728,000	14,134,340	25,862,340	31,410,335
Georgia.....	10	1,096,953	7,453,046	8,549,999	16,316,125
Illinois.....	26	1,008,000	20,618,282	21,626,282	45,818,407
Indiana.....	5	737,000	2,476,621	3,213,621	5,503,604
Iowa.....	8		3,189,876	3,189,876	7,088,612
Kansas.....	1		306,810	306,810	681,800
Kentucky.....	1		245,430	245,430	545,400
Louisiana.....	12	935,000	10,111,341	11,046,341	22,469,648
Maryland.....	4		14,153,869	14,153,869	31,453,042
Massachusetts.....	1		487,125	487,125	1,082,500
Michigan.....	7	12,196,000	15,391,867	27,587,867	34,200,039
Minnesota.....	3		7,053,547	7,053,547	15,674,549
Mississippi.....	2	305,000	494,999	799,999	1,099,999
Missouri.....	7		5,277,133	5,277,133	11,726,962
Montana.....	1		2,424,148	2,424,148	5,386,995
Nebraska.....	10	825,000	5,632,095	6,457,095	12,515,770
New Hampshire.....	1		261,707	261,707	581,571
New Jersey.....	31	17,587,000	26,663,375	44,250,375	61,483,275
New Mexico.....	2		914,891	914,891	2,033,091
New York.....	65	9,674,000	80,596,824	90,270,824	181,475,383
North Carolina.....	1		1,800,000	1,800,000	4,000,000
Ohio.....	20	924,000	16,024,349	16,948,349	35,610,363
Oklahoma.....	19	534,000	9,884,615	10,418,615	21,965,976
Oregon.....	1		266,405	266,405	592,010
Pennsylvania.....	64	45,153,000	67,464,397	112,617,397	149,922,600
Rhode Island.....	4		9,081,847	9,081,847	20,181,883
South Carolina.....	7	11,509,967	13,889,266	25,399,233	30,865,037
South Dakota.....	2		470,841	470,841	1,046,314
Tennessee.....	12	3,190,000	9,072,163	12,262,163	20,160,363
Texas.....	31	31,096,913	44,529,238	75,626,151	98,963,503
Utah.....	1		1,448,182	1,448,182	3,218,182
Virginia.....	5		3,735,464	3,735,464	8,301,034
Washington.....	15		8,978,915	8,978,915	19,953,146
West Virginia.....	5		4,337,304	4,337,304	9,638,454
Wisconsin.....	16		6,181,568	6,181,568	13,736,818
Wyoming.....	2		746,158	746,158	1,658,129
District of Columbia.....	2	2,092,500	1,712,045	3,804,545	3,804,545
Alaska.....	1		393,750	393,750	875,000
Hawaii.....	1		392,400	392,400	872,000
Puerto Rico.....	1	698,000	571,091	1,269,091	1,269,091
Total.....	483	167,663,353	501,229,516	668,892,869	1,156,108,205

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a list of W. P. A. projects in my State over \$25,000.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. COFFEE of Washington and Mr. VOORHIS of California asked and were given permission to revise and extend their remarks.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I made in the Committee of the Whole today and to include therein letters and excerpts from letters to which I referred during the course of my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. IGLESIAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD on problems of Puerto Rico.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and to include therein certain excerpts from letters and telegrams I have received in reference to the N. Y. A.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in three particulars: First, on the subject of radio censorship; second, a tariff on herbs and plants; and, third, on the subject of relief.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MURDOCK of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and to include therein a brief radio talk on the W. P. A.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mrs. O'DAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a short editorial from the New York Times.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a letter received from the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a brief address by Thomas W. Lamont on the mid-campaign dinner of Greater New York.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLANNERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and to include therein a message from the Hazleton Flying Club, of Hazleton, Pa., with reference to the N. Y. A.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an article from the New York Times having to do with the Federal arts theater projects.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. SECCOMBE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an address on labor unions.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD on the subject of attendance at our national shrines and to include therein a short editorial from Motor News dealing with that subject.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a letter from Dr. Roscoe Pulliam, president of the Southern Illinois State Normal University at Carbondale, Ill.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I made in the Committee of the Whole today and to include therein a letter and excerpt from a report.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a communication concerning the N. Y. A.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. MURDOCK]?

There was no objection.

Mr. LYNDON B. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a table on Public Works Administration projects.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LYNDON B. JOHNSON]?

There was no objection.

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend the remarks of Congressman SMITH of Connecticut and to include therein a short editorial from the Waterbury Republican.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CASEY]?

There was no objection.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks on the bill and to include therein a brief telegram I received.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. COCHRAN]?

There was no objection.

Mr. GAVAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a recent editorial from a paper in my district on tolerance.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. GAVAGAN]?

There was no objection.

Mr. LARRABEE asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS REFERRED

Bills and joint resolutions of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 1538. An act for the relief of Konstantinos Dionysios Antiochos (or Gus Pappas); to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

S. 1547. An act to correct the military record of William T. Dickson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1554. An act to provide that the district judge for the western district of Washington, authorized to be appointed under the act of May 31, 1938, shall be a district judge for the eastern and western districts of Washington; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1558. An act to provide for the acceptance of an easement with respect to certain lands in New Mexico, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

S. 1575. An act to provide that the annual registration of motor vehicles in the District of Columbia shall be for the period from April 1 in each year to March 31 in the succeeding year; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. 1594. An act for the relief of Casimer Borowiak; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1654. An act for the relief of Mrs. Pacios Pijuan; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

S. 1667. An act to provide a right-of-way across the Middletown Air Depot Military Reservation, Pa.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1805. An act to establish a lien for moneys due hospitals for services rendered in cases caused by negligence or fault of

others and providing for the recording and enforcing of such liens; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. 1815. An act for the relief of Evelyn Mary Locke; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

S. 1823. An act for the relief of William E. Cowen; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1854. An act to increase the number of midshipmen allowed at the United States Naval Academy from the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 1911. An act for the relief of Daumit Tannaus Saleah (Dave Thomas); to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

S. 1954. An act for the relief of Joannes Josephus Citron; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

S. 1987. An act for the relief of J. S. Melloan and the Boston Milling Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 2023. An act for the relief of C. L. Herren; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 2047. An act to divest prize-fight films of their character as subjects of interstate or foreign commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 2133. An act authorizing the conveyance of certain lands to the State of Nevada; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

S. 2147. An act to amend the act of Congress entitled "An act to define, regulate, and license real-estate brokers, business-chance brokers, and real-estate salesmen; to create a Real Estate Commission in the District of Columbia; to protect the public against fraud in real-estate transactions; and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1937; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. 2275. An act for the relief of Floyd M. Dunscomb; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 2276. An act for the relief of the R. G. Schreck Lumber Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 2327. An act to authorize the President to appoint Frank T. Hines a brigadier general in the Army of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 2505. An act to amend an act to provide for the fifteenth and subsequent decennial censuses and to provide for apportionment of Representatives in Congress, approved June 18, 1929, so as to change the date of subsequent apportionments; to the Committee on the Census.

S. 2539. An act to amend section 1223 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. J. Res. 43. Joint resolution requesting the President to proclaim October 9 as Lief Erikson Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. J. Res. 61. Joint resolution establishing the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic National Shrine Commission to formulate plans for the construction of a permanent memorial building to the memory of the veterans of the Civil War; to the Committee on the Library.

S. J. Res. 124. Joint resolution authorizing the President to invite foreign countries to participate in the San Diego-Cabrillo Quadricentennial Celebration to be held in 1942; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

S. J. Res. 137. Joint resolution authorizing and requesting the President to accept the invitation of the Government of Norway to the Government of the United States to participate in an International Exhibition of Polar Exploration, which will be held at Bergen, Norway, in 1940; and authorizing an appropriation to cover the expenses of such participation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 162. An act to make effective in the district court for the Territory of Hawaii rules promulgated by the Su-

preme Court of the United States governing pleading, practice, and procedure in the district courts of the United States;

H. R. 312. An act for the relief of Roland P. Winstead;

H. R. 805. An act to extend further time for naturalization to alien veterans of the World War under the act approved May 25, 1932 (47 Stat. 165), to extend the same privileges to certain veterans of countries allied with the United States during the World War, and for other purposes;

H. R. 1363. An act for the relief of George Houston;

H. R. 2058. An act for the relief of Jessie Denning Van Eimeren, A. C. Van Eimeren, and Clara Adolph;

H. R. 2179. An act to ratify and confirm certain interest rates on loans made from the revolving fund authorized by section 6 of the Agricultural Marketing Act, approved June 15, 1929 (46 Stat. 11), and for other purposes;

H. R. 2200. An act to dispense with particular allegations as to renunciation of allegiance in petitions for naturalization and in the oath of renunciation of foreign allegiance, by omitting the name of "the prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty" of which the petitioner for naturalization is a subject or citizen;

H. R. 2251. An act for the relief of Russell Anderegg, a minor, and George W. Anderegg;

H. R. 2478. An act for the relief of the Wisconsin Milling Co. and Wisconsin Telephone Co.

H. R. 2583. An act for the relief of A. W. Evans;

H. R. 2695. An act for the relief of Kenneth B. Clark;

H. R. 3065. An act to amend Public Law No. 370, Seventy-fourth Congress, approved August 27, 1935 (49 Stat. 906).

H. R. 3077. An act for the relief of Adam Casper;

H. R. 3132. An act to authorize the disposal of cemetery lots;

H. R. 3367. An act to define the status of certain lands purchased for the Choctaw Indians, Mississippi.

H. R. 4084. An act to provide for the reimbursement of certain personnel or former personnel of the United States Navy and United States Marine Corps for the value of personal effects destroyed as a result of a fire at the Marine Barracks, Quantico, Va., on October 27, 1938;

H. R. 4745. An act relating to benefit assessments from condemnation proceedings for the opening, extension, widening, or straightening of alleys or minor streets;

H. R. 4940. An act to authorize the furnishing of steam from the central heating plant to the District of Columbia;

H. R. 5066. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to regulate proceedings in adoption in the District of Columbia," approved August 25, 1937;

H. R. 5436. An act to authorize the grant of a sewer right-of-way and operation of sewage-treatment plant on the Fort Niagara Military Reservation, N. Y., by the village of Youngstown, N. Y.;

H. R. 5474. An act to amend the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, approved June 25, 1938;

H. R. 5488. An act to provide for the widening of Wisconsin Avenue in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5680. An act to amend section 1 of the act entitled "An act to authorize the Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington Railroad Co. to extend its present track connection with the United States Navy Yard so as to provide adequate railroad facilities in connection with the development of Buzzards Point as an industrial area in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved June 18, 1932 (Public, No. 187, 72d Cong.);

H. R. 5801. An act to grant permission for the construction, maintenance, and use of a certain underground conduit for electrical lines in the District of Columbia;

H. R. 5933. An act for the relief of Frances Virginia McCloud;

H. R. 5934. An act for the relief of W. Elisabeth Deitz;

H. R. 5935. An act for the relief of Charlotte J. Gilbert;

H. R. 5966. An act to establish a Coast Guard Reserve to be composed of owners of motorboats and yachts;

H. R. 5987. An act to amend the District of Columbia Traffic Act of 1925 (43 Stat. 1119);

H. R. 6109. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Niagara River at or near the city of Niagara Falls, N. Y.; and

H. J. Res. 180. Joint resolution to provide that the United States extend to foreign governments invitations to participate in the Seventh International Congress for the Rheumatic Diseases to be held in the United States during the calendar year 1940, and to authorize an appropriation to assist in meeting the expenses of the session.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 1886. An act to extend to June 16, 1942, the period within which certain loans to executive officers of member banks of the Federal Reserve System may be renewed or extended.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 4218. An act making appropriations for the legislative branch of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, June 16, 1939, at 11 o'clock a. m.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

On Friday, June 16, 1939, beginning at 10 a. m., there will be continued a public hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary on the bill (H. R. 6369) to amend the act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, and acts amendatory thereof and supplemental thereto; to create a Railroad Reorganization Court; and for other purposes.

There will be continued a public hearing before Subcommittee No. 3 of the Committee on the Judiciary on Wednesday, June 21, 1939, at 10 a. m., on the bill (H. R. 2318) to divorce the business of production, refining, and transporting of petroleum products from that of marketing petroleum products. Room 346, House Office Building.

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold public hearings in room 219, House Office Building, at 10 a. m., on the bills and dates listed below:

On Friday, June 16, 1939, on H. R. 5611, district commanders' bill (U. S. Coast Guard).

On Tuesday, June 20, 1939, on H. R. 4307 (committee print), to extend the provisions of the Shipping Act, 1916, and the Intercoastal Shipping Act, 1933, to all common carriers by water in interstate commerce, and for other purposes.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a hearing before a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 a. m. on Friday, June 16, 1939, for the consideration of H. R. 6371, to amend the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, to prohibit certain discriminatory practices with respect to the granting of transit privileges.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

868. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to withdraw public lands for the protection of watersheds; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

869. A letter from the chairman, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting the draft of a proposed bill to make uniform in the District of Columbia the law on fresh pursuit and to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to cooperate with the States; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

870. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting the draft of proposed legislation to amend section 33 of the Copyright Act; to the Committee on Patents.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII.

Mr. JARMAN: Committee on Printing. Senate Concurrent Resolution 19. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of House Document No. 272, current session, entitled "Message From the President of the United States Transmitting a Report of the Bureau of Public Roads on the Feasibility of a System of Transcontinental Toll Roads and a Master Plan for Free Highway Development," with amendments (Rept. No. 844). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. HARTER of Ohio: Committee on Military Affairs. S. 1020. An act to authorize the purchase of equipment and supplies for experimental and test purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 845). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. O'CONNOR: Committee on Indian Affairs. H. R. 4540. A bill authorizing the restoration to tribal ownership of certain lands upon the Umatilla Indian Reservation, Oreg., and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 846). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, the Committee on Pensions was discharged from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1033) granting a pension to Barney Lucas, and the same was referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DOUGHTON:

H. R. 6851. A bill to provide revenue, equalize taxation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DEMPSEY:

H. R. 6852. A bill authorizing Federal participation in the commemoration and observance of the four hundredth anniversary of the explorations of Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, establishing a commission for that purpose, and authorizing an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ANGELL:

H. R. 6853. A bill to authorize the acquisition of forest lands adjacent to and over which highways, roads, or trails are constructed or to be constructed wholly or partially with Federal funds in order to preserve or restore their natural beauty, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DARDEN:

H. R. 6854. A bill to provide for the right of election by employees, subject to the provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Act, of a joint and survivorship annuity retirement; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. KLEBERG:

H. R. 6855. A bill further to amend an act entitled "An act for the establishment of a Bureau of Animal Industry, to prevent the exportation of diseased cattle, and to provide means for the suppression and extirpation of pleuropneumonia and other contagious diseases among domestic animals"; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. KOCIALKOWSKI:

H. R. 6856. A bill to amend section 4 of the act entitled "An act to provide a civil government for the Virgin Islands of the United States," approved June 22, 1936; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

By Mr. SHAFER of Michigan:

H. R. 6857. A bill for the control of the milk supply of the District of Columbia and to encourage the widest possible consumption of milk products; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. KOCIALKOWSKI:

H. R. 6858. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

By Mr. LEAVY:

H. R. 6859. A bill to reserve to the United States for the Bonneville project a right-of-way across certain Indian lands in the State of Washington, subject to the consent of the individual allottees and the payment of compensation, and for other purposes; to the committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. McLAUGHLIN:

H. R. 6860. A bill creating the North Omaha Bridge Commission, defining the authority, power, and duties of said commission; and authorizing said commission and its successors and assigns to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Florence Station, in Omaha, Nebr., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. D'ALESSANDRO:

H. J. Res. 327. Joint resolution to authorize an appropriation to aid in defraying the expenses of the observance of the one hundred and sixty-second anniversary of the adoption of the United States flag; the one hundred and sixty-third anniversary of the Declaration of Independence; and the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Constitution of our Republic, during the National Youth Americanization Week, July 3 to 9, 1939, inclusive, by the youth, officials, and citizens of Washington, nearby Maryland, and Virginia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Library.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana:

H. R. 6861. A bill for the relief of A. Emmett Bly; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland:

H. R. 6862. A bill for the relief of Gustav Paks; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY:

H. R. 6863. A bill for the relief of Edmund J. Clark; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. R. 6864. A bill for the relief of Myrtle C. Radabaugh; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McLEOD:

H. R. 6865. A bill for the relief of Herbert W. Seaman; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MARCANTONIO:

H. R. 6866. A bill for the relief of Dolores Otero Alvarez; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. O'BRIEN:

H. R. 6867. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mina L. McLean; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 6868. A bill granting an increase of pension to Mary Hurry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

3796. By Mr. HARTER of New York: Petition of the Masten Club, No. 3, of Buffalo, N. Y., containing the names

of 930 citizens in favor of House bill 5620; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3797. By Mr. MICHAEL J. KENNEDY: Petition of the New York joint council of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, urging enactment of House bill 6470; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3798. Also, petition of Albert R. Lee & Co., Inc., of New York City, protesting against the enactment of the Lea bill for the regulation of water transportation by the Interstate Commerce Commission; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

3799. Also, memorial of Local No. 90 of the United Federal Workers of America, urging that House bill 960 be placed on the House Calendar as early as possible; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

3800. Also, petition of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, protesting against certain provisions of the 1940 relief appropriation bill; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3801. Also, petition of the Federation of Arts Union, with headquarters at 45 West Forty-seventh Street, New York City, representing 75,000 members of established arts unions, urging the continuation of the Federal arts projects under the Works Progress Administration; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3802. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of William Feinberg, secretary, Local 802, American Federation of Musicians, New York City, urging continuation of Federal arts projects; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3803. Also, petition of the Federation of Arts Union, New York City, urging support for continuation of Federal arts projects and support of the Casey-Murray bill; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3804. Also, petition of the Labor's Non-Partisan League, Washington, D. C., concerning the McGehee bill; to the Committee on Labor.

3805. Also, petition of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, New York City, concerning the 1940 relief appropriation bill; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3806. By Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of the Labor's Non-Partisan League, Washington, D. C., concerning the McGehee bill; to the Committee on Labor.

3807. Also, petition of the New York joint council of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, New York City, urging support of the Casey bill (H. R. 6470); to the Committee on Appropriations.

3808. Also, petition of the American Federation of Musicians, Local 802, New York City, urging no curtailment or elimination of Federal projects or Federal theater projects from relief appropriation bill; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3809. Also, petition of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, New York City, concerning the 1940 relief appropriation bill now before Congress; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3810. Also, petition of the Central Barge Co., Chicago, Ill., opposing the passage of the Lea bill and Senate bill 2009, the Wheeler bill, to regulate inland river waterway carriers; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

3811. Also, petition of the Federation of Arts Unions, New York City, urging continuation of the Federal arts projects and support of the Casey-Murray bills; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3812. By Mr. WEAVER: Petition of sundry citizens of Buncombe County, N. C.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

3813. By The SPEAKER: Petition of the Common Council of the City of Detroit, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to Works Progress Administration appropriations; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3814. Also, petition of the Bethlehem (Pa.) City Council, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to Senate bill 591 and House bill 2888; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.